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STAIRWAY OF THE PALACIO ARZOBISPAL, ALCALÁ DE HENARES.
Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect, 1534 et seq.

SPANISH AMERICA
IN THE
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

OF THE
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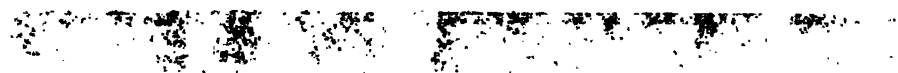
WILLIAM L. L.

FOR THE L. L. L. L.
AUTHOR OF "THE L. L. L. L."

WITH EIGHTY PLATES AND AN APPENDIX OF
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1917

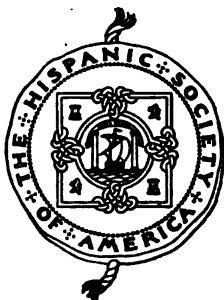


SPANISH ARCHITECTURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

GENERAL VIEW OF
THE PLATERESQUE AND HERRERA STYLES

BY
ARTHUR BYNE
AND
MILDRED STAPLEY

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS OF THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
AUTHORS OF "REJERÍA OF THE SPANISH RENAISSANCE," AND "SPANISH IRONWORK"



WITH EIGHTY PLATES AND ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY ILLUS-
TRATIONS IN THE TEXT, FROM DRAWINGS AND
PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARTHUR BYNE

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
The Knickerbocker Press

1917

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PREFACE

DURING that opulent century when Renaissance art flourished in Spain there was no Vasari to record the names and achievements of the men who were enriching the land with the *Estilo Plateresco*. The few contemporaneous writers who made mention of them were not specially gifted with the critical faculty; still less with accuracy. Only in the various cathedral archives, and even there with many an error, were the names of workers entered with any sort of system; those engaged on civil buildings went for the most part unrecorded. As for the buildings themselves they were hardly known outside their own province.

Not until the late eighteenth century did Spaniards begin to investigate their country's abundant art treasures. Then in succession four dedicated themselves to the worthy task, and produced valuable though necessarily incomplete results. In 1772 Don Antonio Pons published his discursive and undocumented *Viage de España*; in 1800 followed Don Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez with the more practical *Diccionario Historico de los mas Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*; in 1804 Don Isidoro Bosarte began the publication of a well-authenticated *Viage Artistico* but never carried it beyond the first volume; and lastly came Don Eugenio Llaguno y Amírola with his *Noticias de los Arquitectos y Arquitectura de España desde su Restauración*. This work, the first to pay attention to the long-neglected architects, was published after the author's death by his friend Ceán Bermúdez (1829). Other capable investigators followed, but generally speaking it was these four productions with all their merits and demerits that were the source of foreign writings on Spanish art until

the Englishman George Street added *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* to the list. Street, who was as enthusiastic over the mighty Spanish temples as any native could have been, gave us instead of mere rhapsodies the benefit of his rare and highly trained critical faculty. Whatever ground he left unexplored fifty years ago has been ably covered recently by Don Vicente Lampérez in his *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Media*.

As all the authors cited concerned themselves most with the Gothic period those who borrowed from them kept perforce within the same limits. Few critics, native or foreign, ever ventured into the Renaissance century, the epoch of civil rather than ecclesiastical building activity. A number of Spaniards are now devoting themselves to this period but their researches appear to be more archæological than architectural. Thus far each has been vying with the other in clarifying the authorship of disputed monuments. This subject is certainly confused enough but meanwhile the really helpful thing, graphic presentation and sound criticism, is woefully neglected.

The unearthing of the history of civil monuments will be long and slow and will never yield the copious information available on the Renaissance movement in other countries. While patient people are ransacking the archives for a name or a date some of the finest specimens of the period are falling to pieces, and he who would wait until their identity is established before writing about them would have nothing but a memory to discuss.

Spanish Renaissance or Plateresque, in its merely partial acceptance of the Italian and its adherence to earlier styles which it never hesitated to combine with the new, diverged farther from the established Renaissance type than did any architecture north of the Pyrenees. It was far more mobile, more personal, than the pseudo-classic which followed and crushed it. It flourished principally in Castile. It is absolutely a distinct product from that picturesque, semi-Moorish stucco architecture of Andalusia which was carried to the Spanish colonies, later to be accepted throughout both Ameri-

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cas as typical of the mother country. Andalusia has very little in common with the stern central and northern provinces where the race battled so long for its birthright of Europeanism as against Asianism. There stone was used and monumentality was achieved. While not wishing to deny the charm of the stucco house nor its suitability to the Andalusian climate, one is forced to protest against its standing for the whole of Spanish architecture. Such widespread misapprehension simply means that the buildings of Castile, the very heart of the country, have been passed over for a type acknowledged by all Spaniards except Andalusians to be exotic. It is to increase the appreciation of what was done in Castile, to point out its charm (which fortunately does not depend upon documents), and to give the student some idea of what awaits him in Spain that this general view of the sixteenth century is written.

M. S. B.

5 VILLANUEVA,
MADRID,
June, 1916

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Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER I

TOLEDO AND THE WORK OF ENRIQUE DE EGAS

THREE HOSPITALS BEGUN BY EGAS IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY—TOLEDO HOSPITAL THE MOST IMPORTANT—INFLUENCE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF TOLEDO IN POLITICS AND ART—EL GRAN CARDENAL MENDOZA AND HIS COLEGIO IN VALLADOLID—WHY THE RENAISSANCE ARRIVED LATE IN SPAIN—IN WHAT PROVINCES IT FLOURISHED AND BY WHAT MEANS IT WAS PROPAGATED—VARIOUS ITALIANS WHO WORKED IN SPAIN—EGAS AND THE CATALAN GOLDSMITH—ORIGIN OF THE TERM PLATERESCO—PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE GENOESE ARCHITECTS AT LACALAHORRA—VARIOUS BUILDINGS ATTRIBUTED TO EGAS—THE EARLIEST PLATERÍA SHOWING THE NEW FORMS—ANALYSIS OF THE HOSPITAL DE LA SANTA CRUZ—THE TERM ARTESONADO—RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN THE STAIRWAY OF THE HOSPITAL AND THAT AT LACALAHORRA—THE HOSPITAL REAL AT SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA—EGAS'S SLIGHT CONNECTION WITH THE HOSPITAL AT GRANADA—EGAS AND HIS SON-IN-LAW COVARRUBIAS—DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE IN TOLEDO—THE MUDÉJAR STYLE—THE GRANITE PORTALS OF TOLEDO HOUSES

Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER I

TOLEDO AND THE WORK OF ENRIQUE DE EGAS

THE first sixteenth-century architect to embody in a building the fragmentary ideas, on Renaissance architecture which were then circulating through Spain was Enrique de Egas. Egas, who was maestro mayor of the Gothic cathedral of Toledo, planned three great hospitals in the new style. These were the Santa Cruz in Toledo, built for the Archbishop Don Pedro de Mendoza, and the royal hospitals in Santiago and Granada for the Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. For all three structures the scheme was practically the same. The Granada building was the last undertaken and soon passed into other hands, but those in Toledo and Santiago were entirely in Egas's charge and may be considered, in spite of some later disfigurements, as representative of his conception of the new art—the *obra del romano*, as the Spanish were then calling the Italian Renaissance. The Hospital de la Santa Cruz (Plate I), begun in 1504, was the most important architecturally and exerted no small influence on subsequent efforts in Castile.

That a Renaissance structure should first appear in Toledo and be sponsored by a distinguished prelate was entirely appropriate, for Toledo was the chief episcopal city of Spain,

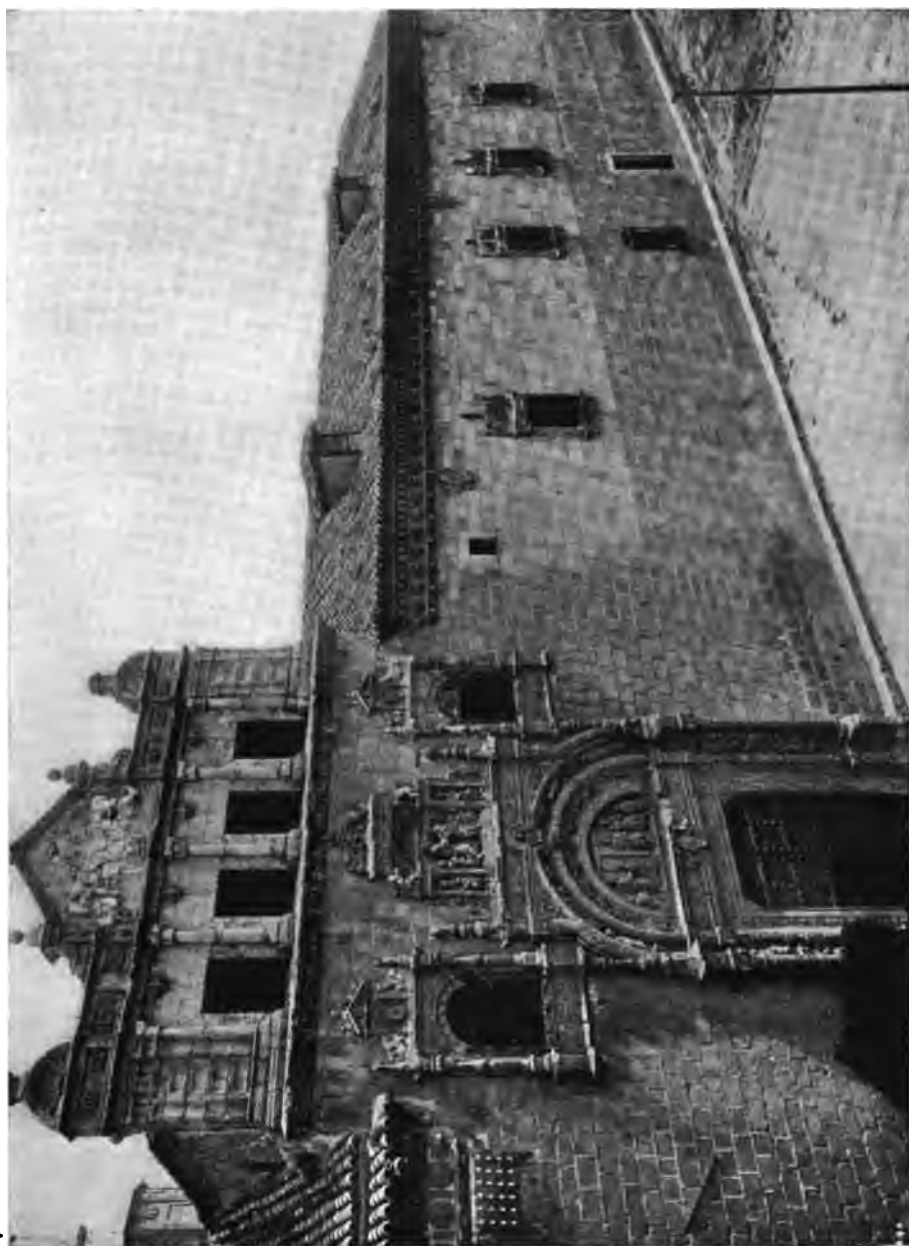
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and its archbishops practically controlled the civilization of the whole realm. They were counselors of kings and leaders of armies; their revenues were princely and they fostered the arts and sciences. Don Pedro de Mendoza, *El Gran Cardenal*, who was primate when Renaissance art began to penetrate Castile, had traveled in Italy and his family had already erected a pretentious residence, the Palacio del Infantado, in which a few Italian motifs appear. The cardinal himself, before determining to found the hospital in Toledo, had employed Enrique de Egas to build a Gothic college of the same name in Valladolid. This Colegio de la Santa Cruz (1480-1492) is often cited as the first specimen of the new style but its Renaissance touches are very plainly of later date; the entrance portal, for instance, belongs to the school of Francisco de Colonia, an architect who did not begin working in that region until after 1500 as explained in Chapter III.¹ The Toledo edifice on the contrary was really designed in Renaissance so far as a Gothicism understood the new movement. Although the building was not commenced until 1504 the drawings may have been made before 1495, the year of the princely patron's death. Queen Isabella, whom he had solemnly charged to carry out his plans, chose the present site as having a better exposure than the one he had designated next the cathedral. But nearly a decade elapsed before the work actually began. Ten years later, while far from finished, it came to a standstill.

Thus in the center of inland Castile, in the venerable city that had known Roman, Visigothic, Arab, Gothic, and Mudéjar architecture, the first faltering piece of Spanish Renaissance rose contemporaneous with the sophisticated palaces of Peruzzi and Sangallo in Rome.² In other words the Re-

¹ The Medinaceli Palace at Cogolludo (Plate XVI) is also pointed to as the first Renaissance building, because Philip the Fair visited it in 1502; but here too the Renaissance portal is by Colonia. Other writers call attention to the fact that the first monument in Spain absolutely free from Gothic is the castle at Lacalaborra (1509). This is true enough, but the castle in question is entirely the work of Italian architects and artisans brought from Genoa for the express purpose of building it (see page 316).

² Don Antonio Pons in his *Viage de España* (1772) said of Toledo that it was "one of the Spanish cities in which the greatest and best works were executed, where the fine



— HOSPITAL DE SANTA CRUZ, TOLEDO.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

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naissance came late as a glance at history will show. While the coast provinces were developing an active commercial life in the Middle Ages and building exchanges and maritime tribunals such as the fine Gothic Lonja of Palma or the Consulado del Mar of Barcelona, Castile, still battling with Moorish invaders, needed nothing architecturally but those defensive castles from which it took its name. Back in the thirteenth century when León was incorporated with it, Castile was proudly termed *El corazón y castillo* of the peninsula; but this heart and stronghold still had two centuries of warfare and bad government before it, and consequently intellectual progress was slow. When further strengthened by the marriage of Isabella of Castile with her cousin and neighbor Ferdinand of Aragon (1474) the inland provinces really began to thrive. These two progressive rulers, after lifting Castilian politics out of a state of chaos, bent every energy on the expulsion of the Moors who still held the kingdom of Granada. In this they succeeded in 1492. Spain, after having endured the presence of Mohammedans for nearly eight centuries, was at last all Spanish. The national elation was tremendous and expressed itself in magnificent churches (these true to the Gothic tradition). Next the sovereigns lent ear to Christopher Columbus who made them masters of an unsuspected world across the Atlantic; and within another few years their *Gran Capitán*, Gonsalvo de Córdoba, recaptured Naples. Thus Spain with incredible rapidity became a power, and that power was focused in Castile.

Peace at home and conquest abroad naturally quickened that acquisition of culture and expansion of private and municipal life for which previous conditions had not been favorable. *Hidalgos* who had served in Italy and had witnessed the refined life of the Italian aristocracy abandoned their remote ancestral seats and built themselves new homes in the towns. Cities

arts were reborn, and where the artificers were better remunerated than elsewhere; and this not only during and since the reign of Charles V when Covarrubias, Berruguete, Juan Bautista, and Herrera flourished, but even during the many previous centuries." Farther on he laments that of all the artists who helped to enrich the city by their labors it is of the architects that the scantiest records have been kept.

began demanding civic structures that would reflect the growth of municipal authority. The architects of these new palaces, city halls, colleges, and hospitals turned to the incoming Italian art for inspiration. Gothic churches also played their part in propagating the new style by acquiring furniture, tombs, and even whole new dependencies, whose erection often brought to a remote locality Renaissance workers whose presence was taken advantage of for secular building as well. Thus the style appeared spasmodically and in widely separated places, answering the call of some noble or prelate. On the Mediterranean coast where it had a good start while the Valencian Borjas were popes, it never produced any important monuments; partly because Spain's prosperity shifted from Mediterranean to Atlantic ports after the discovery of America, and partly because the inability of the Hapsburgs to grapple with economic problems permitted their Cortes to impoverish Valencia by prohibiting her silk-weaving and to interfere with certain exports which had meant considerable wealth to Barcelona. The Renaissance likewise made small progress in Galicia, Asturias, and the Basque provinces, for these had all been left high and dry as the Reconquest spread southward. Therefore, with the exception of a few outstanding examples, the study of Spanish Renaissance architecture is the study of work done in Castile and the newly added Andalusia whither the movement was carried by Castilian architects and sculptors.

We have seen that Renaissance drew its first architect from the ranks of practicing Gothicists; and as there is no record of any Spaniard studying in Italy until a quarter of a century later, the question arises as to what means the earliest men had of acquainting themselves with the new style. Its transmission is ascribed, aside from the close political intercourse between the two countries, to those Italian sculptors who came to Spain and carved retablos and sepulchres; also to the importation of tombs and other accessories executed in Italy for wealthy Spaniards. Far back in the fifteenth century when Flemish, French, and German artists were still coming south and making Burgos their first stopping



-PATIO OF THE HOSPITAL DE SANTA CRUZ, TOLEDO.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

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place, Italians were coming west to Barcelona, Valencia, and Murcia. As early indeed as 1417 a pupil of Lorenzo Ghiberti was working in Valencia and later this same city, when its bishop Rodrigo Borja became Pope Alexander VI, was enriched by many works of art sent back by him from Rome. All through the first half of the sixteenth century the Italians continued to arrive and push on to Castile, and for every one whose name has been preserved, like Giovanni Moreto who carved retablos and tombs in Zaragoza (Saragossa) for nearly fifty years, or Giacompo Fiorentino who built in Murcia and Granada, or Fray Niculoso of Pisa who painted tiles in Seville, or, greatest of all, Domenico Fancelli who made the royal tombs at Granada and Avila, there were hosts who went unrecorded. These were mostly Lombards who worked as assistants to Italian or Castilian masters.

For the early established and flourishing business of tomb-making none of the great masters came, but numbers of skilled carvers from the active and widely exploited marble ateliers of Carrara. It is well known how these when they invaded France brought working models consisting of plaster casts, drawings, small terra cottas and stuccos, and how they formed themselves into a number of ambulatory ateliers. As the astute contractors of Carrara and Genoa kept in touch with building enterprises everywhere they undoubtedly sent similar equipment to Toledo where the archbishops were constantly aggrandizing the cathedral. Marcel Dieulafoy in his *Art in Spain and Portugal* makes one Italian-trained goldsmith responsible for Egas's Renaissance training. This was a Catalan named Pedro Diez who, on his return from Rome about 1458, was called to Toledo and there "acquired such ascendancy in the workshops of the cathedral that Enrique Egas, son of the master of the works, came entirely under his influence. Thus we find a *platero* connected with the evolution of pointed architecture; hence the term *Plateresco* applied in Spanish to the individual styles of the reigns of Joanna the Mad and her son the Emperor Charles (1504-1558)." But the obscure question of how Egas acquired his Renaissance knowledge cannot be dismissed so simply. At the time the

Catalan goldsmith came to Toledo, Enrique (d. 1534) must have been a mere infant and still in Burgos where his father, the Brussels architect Annequin de Egas (Jan van der Eyken), worked before he was called to Toledo. But no matter how young Enrique was when he learned the new style he kept practicing Flemish Gothic until he built the hospitals to be discussed here. As to the christening of what the Spaniards believed to be Italian architecture, that did not take place until the seventeenth century when Zuñiga, the annalist of Seville, coined the phrase "*fantasías platerescas*" to describe buildings of the preceding century. Egas and his contemporaries called their work *obra del romano*, or *el arte viejo* (the old art).

That this tyro in the new style met itinerant Italians after coming to Toledo is not to be doubted; but there was another and more definite influx to which he may also have owed something. This was the group of Genoese and Lombard builders who were specially imported in 1509 to erect the castle at Lacalahorra near Granada for Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, son of the Great Cardinal. Egas while at work on his Toledo hospital was also employed in Granada and there can be no doubt that he heard of, and perhaps even visited, the much discussed Italian palace. That he studied the classic ruins so numerous in Spain there is not the slightest reason to believe. Like many another artist whose life and work are only imperfectly known he has been accredited with several more or less improbable productions. Some writers, unwilling to admit that he could have built his hospitals without passing through a transitional stage, ascribe to him the curious Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid. This, like the unlovely Mendoza palace in Guadalajara and the Benavente in Baeza, is generally considered typically Spanish but is in reality the extravagant expression of some newly arrived Fleming enamored of Moorish richness and bent on incorporating it with decadent Gothic—the same elements, by the way, which produced the Manueline style in Portugal. Egas may have seen the germ of an idea in these extraordinary façades but his authentic productions are of much greater refinement. Re-

garding the University of Salamanca in which others pretend to see his hand one may reason in quite the opposite direction; it is too sophisticated. As master of the royal works he may have been commissioned to make designs for it late in

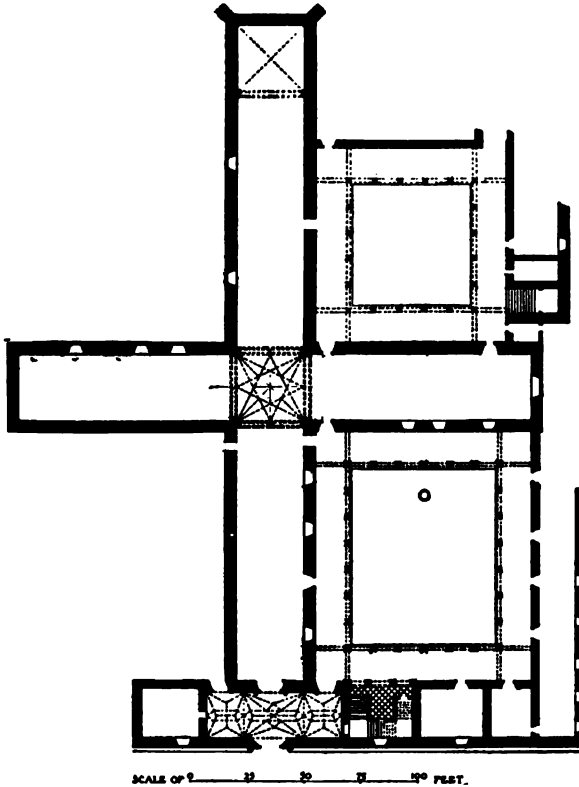


FIG. 1—Plan of the Hospital de Santa Cruz, Toledo.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

the fifteenth century, but the one followed and completed about 1530 reveals nothing of him. Turning to his authentic work as seen in the hospital in Toledo it shows that he, unlike the Florentine Brunelleschi, did not see in the revival of classic an organic change affecting the plan itself (see Fig. 1). As a thorough Gothicism he might have been expected to show an interest in the problems of vaulting which had so engrossed the early Italians; but the fact is that for his Renaissance experiments he clung to the carpentry ceilings of the Moors

and was content to accept the Renaissance as a new set of motifs to be engrafted onto medieval principles—it has always been true that decorative themes have been propagated much more quickly than methods of construction.

The result of Spanish effort to build in the Italian style is both interesting and novel and is best described by its native name of Plateresco. This implies a resemblance to the work of the silversmith or platero in scale and delicacy of execution but does not mean that the Spanish architect followed the silversmith's lead in the use of Renaissance motifs; for the earliest church vessels, that is, important pieces such as custodias, chalices, or processional crosses in which such forms are to be found, are posterior to Egas's experiments (see Figs. 2 and 3). Nor were the first Spaniards who practiced Plateresque recruited from the goldsmiths' shops as in Florence nearly a century before. They were Gothic architects and sculptors who changed their style as opportunity presented itself, but who saw the new from the ornamentalist's point of view rather than the builder's.

Analyzing the Hospital de Santa Cruz we find that it is eclectic in design showing Renaissance, Gothic, and Mudéjar elements, especially in the various methods of roofing; these comprise Gothic stone vaulting, *artesonados*,¹ and the open truss construction of the Moors. Fig. 1 shows the plan to be based on the Maltese cross, the cardinal's emblem, which also appears repeatedly in the ornament. The arms of the immense cross, along with the proposed equilateral façades, were to embrace four corner patios; but of this ambitious scheme only the cross itself, one patio, and a portion of the south façade were ever built. This unfortunately was the fate of too many grandiose projects of the sixteenth century. In the present example it is the façade that suffers most, from incompleteness, for it terminates abruptly a few feet west

¹ *Artesonado* from *arteson* meaning a wooden kneading-trough or tub. The term was applied to all coffered ceilings whether flat or vaulted in section, each sunken coffer with its surrounding mouldings suggesting the *arteson*. By extension, all wooden ceilings are called *artesonados* though those not built up of coffers are more accurately referred to as *techumbres*. In the making and decorating of these the Moors particularly excelled (see page 18).

of what was to be the central motif; yet despite the loss of balance the effect is impressive. Fenestration is reduced to a minimum thus expressing that the interior derives its light and air from the patio. On the doorway and windows is



FIG. 2—Silver Custodia in the Colegiata at Covarrubias.

Platero Unknown.



FIG. 3—Gold and Silver Custodia in the Royal Monastery of Silos, dated 1527.

Platero Unknown.

concentrated a wealth of delicate ornament carved in marble. The contrast of this with the severe granite walls in which it is inserted is striking. The central motif shows how much more conversant Egas was with the new forms than with the manner of using them as witness the awkwardly bent columns over the arch; and yet he must have had Italian assistants on the spot, for certain details, the door architrave for instance

(Fig. 4), are such pure Lombard that nothing so conventional and true to type was done later when style and workmen had become acclimatized. Crowding the doorway are two Lombard windows flanked by colonnettes similar to those at Laca-



FIG. 4—Detail from the Portal of the Santa Cruz Hospital, Toledo.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

laorra. They again appear in the Hospital Real at Granada and, in fact, remained in high favor throughout the entire Plateresque period. The Santa Cruz front having never been altered by succeeding architects is an interesting record of how Egas, at a time when the Italians were applying the orders to the façade, saw it as an uncompromising wall of masonry relieved only by a few spots of rich ornament.

The hospital was to contain, besides the sick and foundlings, a nursing sisterhood with their *casa conventual* and a chapel. This last Egas intended placing in the intersection of the cross but abandoned the idea; perhaps because he had



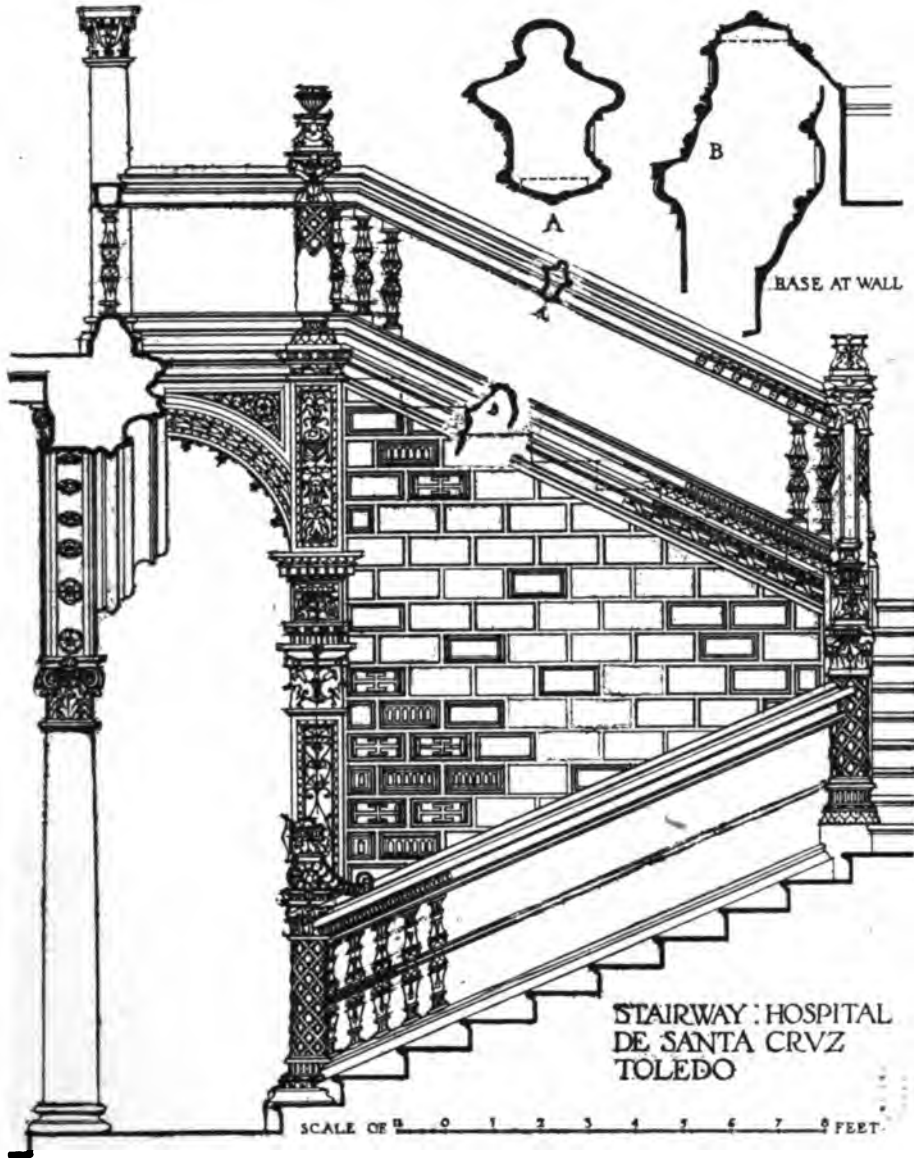
FIG. 5—Interior of the Santa Cruz Hospital, Toledo.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

been gaining experience meanwhile on the Santiago building which he was carrying on at the same time. At any rate he added a bay to the north arm to receive the high altar, an advantageous change, as may be seen by comparing the two plans. The straightforwardness of the Toledo interior is striking as one passes from the vestibule and meets a clear sweep of nearly 300 feet. At the crossing (Fig. 5) is a lofty well with Gothic vaulting (the lantern is eighteenth-century) and Gothic piers, but these have a Renaissance interruption

at the second story level where they are built out to permit passage from one arm to another.

In all the great halls the ceilings are of wood, paneled on the first story and of open construction with coupled trusses on the second. The solidity obtained in these Spanish frame-ceilings is remarkable; covered with six or eight inches of sand or cement as a bed for the tile flooring above, they have, even in the greatest spans, all the substantiality of masonry vaulting. The paneling of the *artesonado* was not merely applied to the frame, but the latter had to be actually designed to receive it. The system was a Moorish inheritance and there is no doubt that Egas's *carpinteros* were all *Mudéjares* (conquered Moors). The wood employed is a coarse-grained pine, well oiled, and it is on record that it was the first brought down the Tagus from the pine-covered slopes of the Serranía de Cuenca.

By the time the patio was reached Egas was more familiar with the new style and one finds few traces of Gothic (see Plate II). The parapet of the second story (Fig. 6) is a survival which may have been deliberately preferred to the monumental balustrade, which feature was slow of acceptance in Spain. The staircase (Plate III) aimed to be entirely Renaissance, and in it the charming tentativeness of the façade is again recovered. For some time previous the Spanish had been giving more emphasis to the staircase than other Gothic architects; they had brought it out from the turret and enclosing walls and made it an architectural adjunct to the patio. This claustral stair, connecting the upper and lower galleries or cloistered walks of the patio, was built around an open well in contrast to the enclosed stair so long retained in Florence and Rome. It happens that the stairway at Lacalahorra (see Plate LXI), although built by Italians, was of this Spanish type, for the architects were Genoese and remembered the sumptuous stairs leading from street to terrace level in the hillside palaces of their own city. Many similarities of form and detail would indicate that their work, so closely according with the Spanish tradition, supplied Egas with his incentive. Each comprises three bays of the patio,



SECTION THROUGH STAIRWAY OF THE HOSPITAL DE SANTA CRUZ, TOLEDO.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

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each has two landings, and each has the same balustrade and base moulds. Yet the Toledo presents several original expressions not to be found in the other, such as the carved rustication and the almost unmodified Gothic newel post (see Plate



FIG. 6—Upper Story of Patio of the Hospital de Santa Cruz, Toledo.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1504-14.

IV). In the construction of the balustrade is a peculiarity which, if Egas really saw and examined the Genoese work, would be difficult to account for. Utterly ignoring Renaissance constructive methods he continued to regard stereotomy from the Gothic viewpoint; the balustrade, for instance, while appearing to be built up of separately carved balusters in the normal way is in reality a succession of pierced slabs, each group of three or four verticals being carved from a single block. The connecting piece at the center, common to all early Spanish balustrades, is consequently a tie-piece incident

to this peculiar manner of constructing. To further augment the difficult task of stone-cutting the markings of each unit follow the rake of the stair. How unnecessarily laborious all this was did not occur even to Egas's followers, for it was repeated at Alcalá by his son-in-law Covarrubias (see Frontispiece) and later in the Dueñas palace in Medina del Campo (Fig. 63). Similarly slighted was the question of intersections and continuity of mouldings; elaborately carved courses of differing profiles meet in haphazard fashion. This defect cannot be put down to ignorance for in the artesonado above the stair far more difficult intersections are solved with consummate nicety. Yet with all its crudities this parent stair was worthy of the appreciation it received in its day from Castilian architects. There is an attractiveness even in its faulty detail, while the whole scheme, including the artesonado and the relation to upper and lower cloisters, is characterized by a certain grandeur.

The Hospital de la Santa Cruz is not easy to appraise in its present condition. After serving for centuries as a foundling asylum, and with never an expenditure for repairs, it was handed over to the orphans of artillery officers. In 1887 another and much more disastrous change was made—it became a military academy. It is now undergoing thorough restoration after which it will house the provincial museum.

In 1501 or 1502, that is, while the Mendoza plan was still in abeyance, the same architect designed a similar hospital for the city of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia. In that remote spot where St. James (Santiago) the Greater was supposed to be buried, a magnificent church had been erected to which thousands of pilgrims streamed annually. In 1498 the bishop complained that many of these, ill or exhausted by the journey, lay for days on the church floor for lack of proper accommodation, and urged their Majesties to construct a pilgrims' hospital. Egas, master of the royal works, was ordered to prepare a plan. He went to work on the same general lines as at Toledo. The Santiago structure (Plate V) was carried to a conclusion (though not all of it in his lifetime) and offers better opportunity than the Toledo to grasp the

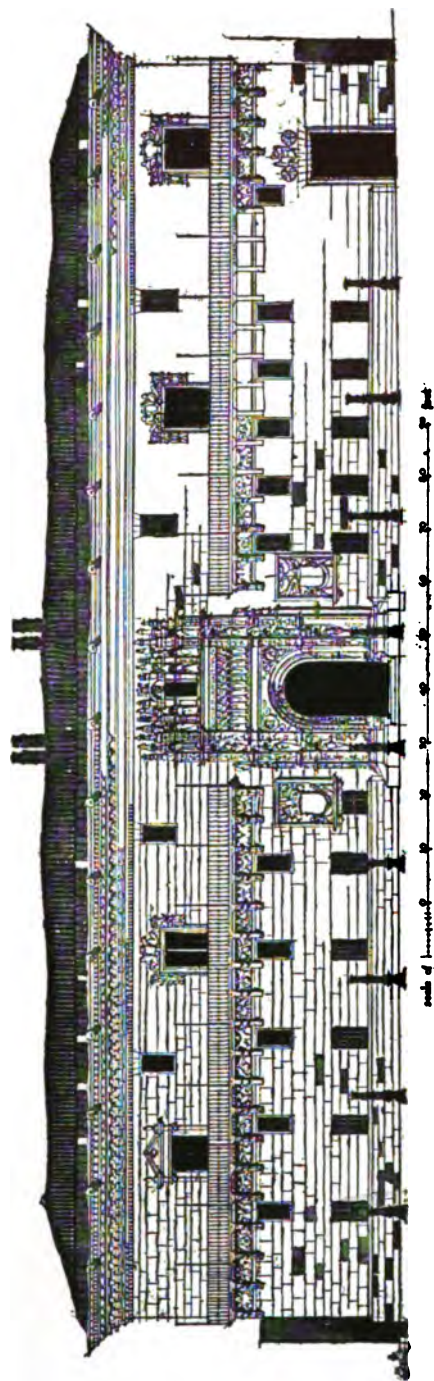


SIMILAR NEWEL IN THE CASA DEL CONDE DE
TOLEDO, TOLEDO.



STAIR NEWEL IN THE HOSPITAL DE SANTA
CRUZ, TOLEDO.

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ELEVATION OF HOSPITAL REAL, SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1501-II.

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bigness of the scheme. The façade has suffered the addition of a seventeenth-century balcony and a re-ornamentation of three of the windows; but one can still see how the architect limited the decoration of his long granite front to five units—the central doorway and two windows each side of it.

A characteristic feature is the rich cornice built up of a series of unorthodox mouldings. It was to be expected of the pronounced individuality of the Spaniard that he could not accept the Italian's devotion to beauty for its own sake, but would introduce elements that answered to his craving for realism. And so Egas, without even trying to understand the systematized classic cornice, introduced the Moorish chains from which his royal patrons had freed Christian captives, in the same personal spirit as he introduced the emblem of Archbishop Mendoza in the Toledo cornice; he could not break absolutely with Gothic and its story-telling themes. The Santiago portal (Plate VI), which has never been tampered with, is a Gothic composition ornamented in Plateresque; it therefore has none of the abortions noted in the attempted Renaissance composition at Toledo, but is an extremely successful blending of the two styles. Extending through two stories it is like an immense retablo or reredos brought from the altar and applied to the exterior. The row of the twelve disciples above the arch and also the saints in niches are frankly Gothic; but just as frankly Plateresque are the arabesque panels of the storied pilasters and the candelabra cresting. There is nothing here as purely Italian as the architrave of the Santa Cruz (and even had such been contemplated it would have been obviated by the coarseness of the stone) but the door on the whole displays a much finer sense of composition.

The interior (see Fig. 7) suffers from the placing of the chapel in the crossing; this, besides robbing the plan of spaciousness, makes communication possible only through the patios. It seems logical to infer that this had been done before the same stage was reached in the Toledo building, hence the abandonment of a similar arrangement there; and if further evidence were wanting of the architect's dis-

satisfaction with the original scheme, it might be found in the Granada hospital which we know was not begun until several years later and where the crossing is again unblocked. The stairways at Santiago are enclosed between walls, probably

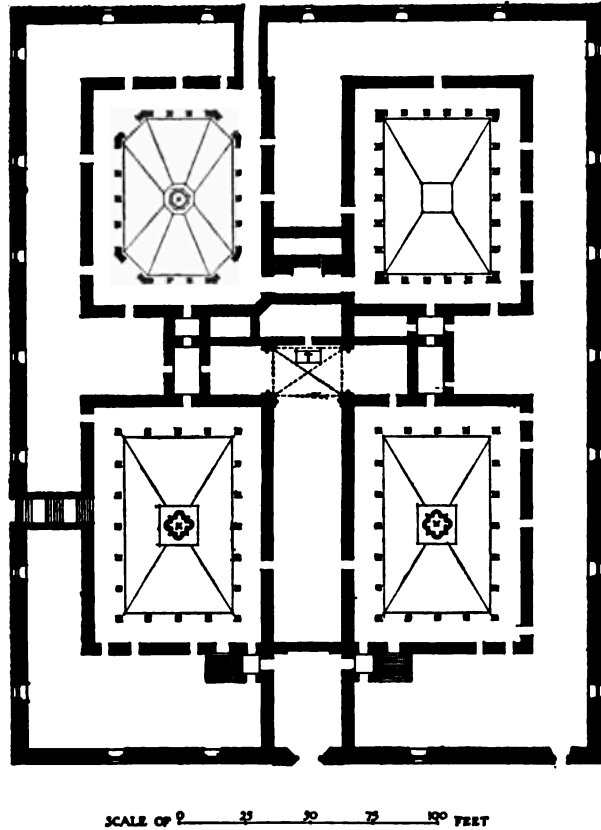


FIG. 7—Plan of the Hospital Real, Santiago de Compostela.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1501-11.

because of the raw climate, leaving the patios to claim all attention. Of these the two forward, left and right of the main entrance, show a great advance in the manipulation of the new style, as seen in Fig. 8. The setting out of the design, with two openings over one, recalls the cloister of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome by Bramante. It is interesting to speculate whether Egas knew of the recently finished Italian work (1504) or whether he evolved the motif from Gothic prece-

dent. The latter might well be the case considering that there is no reminiscence of Bramante's purer classic in the treatment of the detail. The lower openings are high and graceful, supported on attenuated pilasters with Renaissance



FIG. 8—Patio of the Hospital Real, Santiago de Compostela.
Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1501-11.

caps above which the archivolt mouldings interlace—a capricious note often encountered in Plateresque. The upper and more ornate story presents some curious liberties in the profiles of mouldings but this is apparent only on close examination. All the work is executed in a coarse gray stone, yet has the lightness and quality of terra cotta in its design. According to the Latin inscription over the portal, the Hospi-

tal Real was erected between 1501 and 1511, but the earlier date may refer to the year when royal sanction was given while the actual work may not have commenced until several years later. The two patios due to Egas give every evidence of being posterior to the one at Toledo; the remaining two date from the eighteenth century.

The Hospital Real at Granada which will be taken up in Chapter X is later. Though founded and richly endowed by Queen Isabella shortly before her death in 1504 it was not started until 1511; soon after, the work stopped and when it was resumed in Charles V's reign another architect was appointed. The most admirable feature about it is the same cruciform plan seen in Toledo and Santiago.

Reviewing the Renaissance work of Enrique de Egas one sees that its author had no such heretical thought as a complete break with the preceding style. He was too saturated in ecclesiastical methods where the old traditions still prevailed to shake off their influence; and even had this not been the case he was too imperfectly informed in the foreign art to follow all its conventions. His productions in the new field must therefore be regarded as experimental—merely tentative, yet with their own character and interest. Not one of them was completed within or without by him so that it is for the fruits they bore rather than for themselves that one studies them. What Egas accomplished in Renaissance was to demonstrate to others the possibility of combining the new ornament with Spanish traditions and evolving therefrom something distinctive and racial.

Hardly any details are known concerning this most famous member of a family prominent for generations in Spanish architecture and sculpture; but we may accept him as a thorough Spaniard. He passed the greater part of his long life in that intensely racy capital which, half a century later, so cast its spell over a Greek painter that he became more Spanish than the natives themselves. Considering that Egas worked in Toledo from about 1480 till his death in 1534, and that, as visiting architect, he was present at some time or other in every great building center, his influence must



PORTAL OF THE HOSPITAL REAL, SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

Enrique de Egas, Architect, 1501-11.

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have been far-reaching. One cannot resist picturing the doughty old artist making his Toledo home a focus for the talented youth of the day, a conjecture that borrows probability from the fact that his three sons were respectively

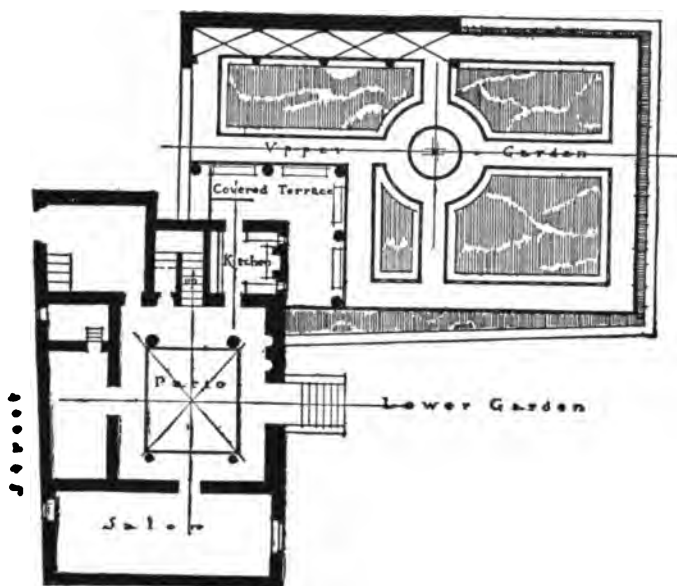


FIG. 9—Plan of the Casa del Greco, Toledo (Restored).

sculptor, painter, and architect, and that his only daughter married the man whose work is most closely related to that of the maestro mayor—who followed him, in fact, in that post as will be seen in the next chapter. This son-in-law, Alonso de Covarrubias, may be accepted, so far as certain phases of the first period are concerned, as Egas's logical successor.

It would be perfectly reasonable to look for an abundant efflorescence of Renaissance palaces in the rich city where the style had received such distinguished patronage; but it happened that in the field of domestic architecture there was something stronger to be reckoned with than the sanction of a primate, and that was local tradition. Toledo was a Mudéjar city. In it the Moorish type of civilization flourished long after the city had passed into Christian hands, and the

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fact is nowhere more evident than in its domestic buildings. The artisans were Asiatics—Moors and Jews; and not only the house, but nearly all the objects in it—furniture, fabrics, utensils—were of their making. These un-European crafts-



FIG. 10—Reproduction of a Sixteenth-Century Chimneypiece in a Toledo House.

men were given a free hand and worked along unaffected by new styles that came from without, except when employed on Christian churches. What they produced for Christian masters is known in Spain as the *Estilo Mudéjar*. The latter word is derived from the Arab *mudejalar*, meaning subdued, and was applied to those infidels, mainly Moors, who remained in any district after it had been conquered by the Christians. These industrious Mudéjares, with their superior skill in the arts and trades, found ready employment everywhere until the time came when economic considerations could no longer prevail against race hatred and religious bigotry. The Jews were expelled in 1492; and in 1499 Cardinal Cisneros decreed



PATIO OF THE CASA DEL GRECO, TOLEDO (RESTORED).

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that the Moors must either follow them or embrace Christianity. Only a small portion accepted the bitter alternative of baptism and even these, called Moriscos, were in time expelled. With the exodus of the Moriscos there passed out of Spanish architecture its most distinctive note.

The Mudéjar style in which they had been such a necessary factor may be roughly described as the combination of Moorish ornamentation with Christian plan and structure; but in truth the Moor asserted himself in far more than ornament. Certain building methods for roofs, ceilings, and floors were wholly his and even prevailed for centuries after his expulsion. The term Mudéjar is naturally elastic, for the Christian element in it may be in the form of a Romanesque church like Santo Tomé in Toledo, a medieval fortress like the castle of Coca, or a mixed Gothic and Plateresque palace like the Infantado, at Guadalajara. Sometimes, though rarely outside of Andalusia, the balance of plan and structure is Moorish; this is the case in the Alba palace in Seville (see Plate XLIX) which is an amplification of an Arab house, with Renaissance columns and capitals in the patios. Mudéjar, like the Asiatic architecture it sprang from, rarely concerned itself with the quarrying and laying up of impressive stone; instead small units such as were provided by burnt clay products were its preferred materials. To regard Mudéjar as a mere transitional phase or a mere superficial treatment is a mistake. When Moorish skill and personality in ornament were combined with Christian architectural structurability, the result was a definite style, exhibiting proper congruity of forms with materials. The castle of the Fonsecas at Coca, one of the finest examples of military architecture in Europe, is as undeniably Mudéjar as Burgos Cathedral is Gothic. For interiors the style offers considerable charm, particularly in its last or Plateresque manifestation. Its ceilings of wood, floors of tiles, and walls of carved plaster are among the most decorative ever devised for domestic work (as described in the Seville chapter, pages 236-250) and probably would be more often used if better understood.

To return to Toledo, it was in this hybrid architecture

that most of its parish churches and convents were built, including the two synagogues erected by the prematurely grateful Jews as thank-offerings for royal protection, and then turned into Christian churches after their expulsion. Also



FIG. 11—Typical Granite Doorway, Toledo.

in Mudéjar were the Toledo residences with their almost windowless façades which presented but one note of interest, the stone portal. This one note is so distinctive that it deserves a brief word. Like the entrances in Avila and Estremadura it is of granite and the very material has imposed a certain sobriety and solidity which might almost pass for Roman. Its post and lintel construction of impressive dimensions frames a huge wooden door studded with nailheads (see Fig. 11). The stonework is an adaptation of classic principles—engaged columns with crude capital, expansive

lintel flanked by coarse corbels, and the whole often surmounted by a relieving arch. Many of the Toledan entrances are actually built up of Visigothic fragments. The type was adhered to until the eighteenth century, unmodified by closer acquaintance with the Renaissance. Whatever of the new style crept into the patios of Toledo was likewise of local interpretation, nor is there enough of it to take domestic work out of the category of Mudéjar.

CHAPTER II

COVARRUBIAS AND THE MONUMENTS AT ALCALÁ

ALONSO DE COVARRUBIAS—THE COMPETITION FOR THE CAPILLA DE LOS REYES NUEVOS—COVARRUBIAS APPOINTED MAESTRO MAYOR OF TOLEDO CATHEDRAL IN 1534 AND LATER APPOINTMENT AS MASTER OF ROYAL WORKS—DESCRIPTION OF HIS CHAPEL OF THE NEW KINGS—HIS PORTAL TO THE CAPILLA DE SAN JUAN—ALCALÁ DE HENARES AND ITS RELATION TO TOLEDO—DON ALONSO DE FONSECA, ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO, ORDERS THE REMODELING OF THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE AT ALCALÁ—LAS MEDIDAS DEL ROMANO AND ITS DEDICATION—DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE—BERRUGUETE'S SCULPTURE IN THE PATIO—MARKED TENDENCY TOWARDS REALISM IN SPANISH ORNAMENT—REPE-
TITION OF EGAS'S STAIRWAY AT TOLEDO—MAGNIFICENT SERIES OF ARTESONADOS IN THE PALACE—THE UNIVERSITY OF ALCALÁ FOUNDED BY CARDINAL JIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS AND BUILT BY PEDRO GUMIEL—ITS NEW FAÇADE BY RODRIGO GIL DE ONTAÑON—THE ESCUTCHEON OF SPAIN AND ITS DECORATIVE USE—SPANISH OBJECTIONS TO THE RENAISSANCE FORMS AT ALCALÁ—THE INTERIOR OF THE UNIVERSITY—THE CARDINAL'S TOMB IN THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH—LACK OF OTHER RENAISSANCE WORK IN ALCALÁ.

CHAPTER II

COVARRUBIAS AND THE MONUMENTS AT ALCALÁ

EGAS'S son-in-law is supposed to have taken his surname from the town of Covarrubias near Burgos but whether that was really his birthplace is not known. According to Llaguno's *Notices on the Architects and Architecture of Spain* he studied with the German Gothickist Simón de Colonia (Simon of Cologne) in Burgos, which city he left toward the end of the fifteenth century for Toledo; here he worked under Enrique de Egas. The same author explains the young architect's adoption of the new style not by association with the builder of the Santa Cruz, nor even by vigorous influences received earlier in Burgos, but by "the many classic ruins in Spain, seeing which Alonso de Covarrubias was moved to imitate them, although imperfectly as if eyes and hands were more used to Gothic." The truth is however that nothing erected by Covarrubias shows conversance, even imperfect, with the antique, until his remodeling of the Alcázar of Toledo; and this was after he had long been practicing Plateresque. In 1531 he presented plans along with Diego de Siloe, also from Burgos, for a mortuary chapel to be erected in the cathedral for the kings descended from the illegitimate Enrique II (Los Reyes Nuevos), whose sepulchres were at that time blocking up the nave. Archbishop Fonseca awarded the commission to Covarrubias, who finished it in 1534; and the architect's father-in-law dying that same year he was appointed to succeed him as *Maestro Mayor de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo*.

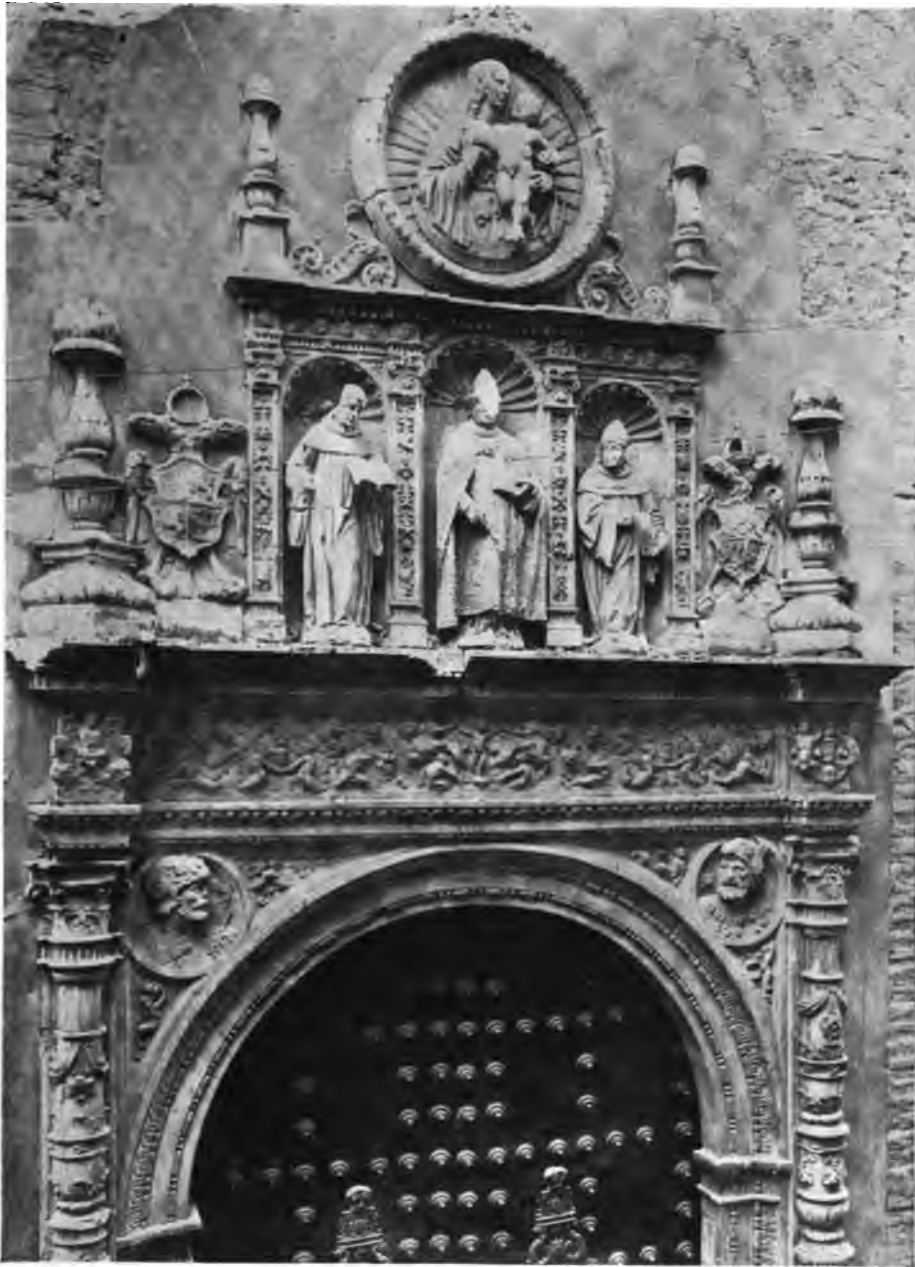
The large Capilla de Los Reyes Nuevos is structurally as Gothic as the cathedral of which it is a part but the portal

connecting it with the church, the arch dividing it into two parts, and the royal wall-tombs it contains are all in the new style. This does not mean that the chapel is a Gothic structure with extraneous Renaissance insertions, but rather a



FIG. 12—Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos, Toledo Cathedral.
Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect, 1534.

piece of transitional work representing from its inception an earnest endeavor to harmonize old and new. This searching for affiliation is most felt in certain details of the Gothic windows and again in the dividing arch, still pointed, but with beautiful Italian ornament. In the tombs (see Fig. 12) there is little of transition for here no restrictions were imposed by the surrounding Gothic architecture. On the right wall are the sepulchres of Enrique II and his queen and on the left Enrique III and his, the English Catherine of Lancaster. All the recumbent figures are earlier having been brought from their former place in the nave. The motif of these tombs is a recessed niche whose vaulted arch is a little less than a full



PORTAL OF THE CONVENTO DE SAN CLEMENTE, TOLEDO.
Attributed to Covarrubias and Berruguete.

semicircle, as seen frequently in early examples in Italy. At each side of the niche is a flattened colonnette supporting the entablature; the ornament of these colonnettes and that of the panels behind the effigies is the most charming part of the motif. Very Spanish in treatment are the spandrels, wherein strong bearded heads in medallions offer animated contrast to the tender Italian manner. There was a positive lust for costly decoration in these days of the empire (for it must be remembered that Charles V was master of half of Europe and that the wealth of Mexico and Peru was pouring in) so gold was used lavishly. The stone jointing of the vaulting, much of the high relief, and many of the mouldings are gilded, as may be seen in the illustration.

The next step in the artistic development of Covarrubias, and one in which certain very personal characteristics may be detected, is the portal to the Capilla de San Juan, now the Treasury where all the jeweled ornaments and trappings of the cathedral are kept (Plate IX). This entrance was made in 1537, about the time that he was appointed *maestro de las obras reales*. It is a highly wrought Renaissance doorway set within a round-arched Gothic frame partly gilded. Its relation to Egas's first Renaissance portal is evident—ornamental architrave flanked by baluster colonnettes, rich entablature, and sculptured tympanum with candelabra at each side; but the exquisitely cut detail here is Spanish, not Italian (Fig. 13). In the panels of the jamb are seen flying birds, entwined ram's-heads, masks, amorini of muscular build, and the little plaques in vogue at the time. All these are held together by a vinelike stem, the only suggestion of plant form encountered, for almost from the beginning of the Italian invasion the Spaniard instinctively rejected the sinuous plant motifs as too tame and inexpressive for his more vivid temperament. His predilection was for animal life in action, which action increased in intensity and nervous energy until the period came when all ornament was banished under Philip II.

In a temple so indescribably rich as Toledo Cathedral, the head church of the kingdom, there is naturally an over-

whelming array of art belonging to the years when Covarrubias was chief architect in the city. Rejas, portals, tombs, stalls, all are deservedly famous and all are important adjuncts to the builder's art; but as our object is primarily to gain



FIG. 13—Detail from Portal of the Capilla de San Juan, Toledo Cathedral.

Covarrubias, Architect, 1537.

acquaintance with the secular expression of Plateresque we will leave Toledo and follow the master to another town of the province—Alcalá, on the little Henares stream west of Madrid. Alcalá de Henares is closely connected with the ecclesiastical history of Toledo. Though but an insignificant town it is to it rather than to the important episcopal city on the Tagus that one must turn to find a real Renaissance center. The story of its architecture is bound up in the story of



DOORWAY OF THE CAPILLA DE SAN JUAN, TOLEDO CATHEDRAL.
Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect, 1537.

the Spanish primates beginning with the very first archbishop that Toledo had after the Reconquest. This was one Bernardo, a bellicose French monk who, in his determination to rid New Castile of infidels, led an army against their stronghold



FIG. 14—Carved Wooden Doors to the Sala Capitular, Toledo Cathedral.
Enrique de Egas and Pedro Gumiel, Architects, 1504-12.

at Al Kaláh and reduced it. To reward the service and to insure the town's remaining in Christian hands the king made a gift of it to the bishops of Toledo. Alcalá became their favorite retreat. They built themselves a palace there and gathered their aristocratic court around them. Several brilliant centuries followed during which time it was the birthplace of that princess of pathetic history, Catherine of Aragon, and

the immortal Cervantes. Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, successor to Don Pedro de Mendoza as archbishop of Toledo, and regent of Spain before the young Charles assumed control, founded the widely known University of Alcalá



FIG. 15—Carved Panels from Wardrobe by Pedro Pardo, in the Antesala, Toledo Cathedral, 1549.

and had his famous polyglot Bible printed here. The university was begun in 1497 and finished in 1508 by Pedro Gumiél who was collaborating at the same time with Enrique de Egas on the Sala Capitular of Toledo Cathedral. The university probably showed little, if any, of the new style for nothing could have been more opposed to the ideas of the ascetic old warrior-priest than to revive "the uncleanly gods of the ancients with all their pictured allegories" on a building in which militant Christian priests were to be trained. But this is merely conjecture for Gumiél's façade was rebuilt ere

many years passed and will be examined presently. Meanwhile a prelate of more relenting tastes succeeded to the metropolitan chair. This was Don Alfonso de Fonseca (see page 80) whose zeal for building in the "Italian taste" were so great that to him was dedicated, in 1526, the first Spanish translation of, or rather work drawn from, Vitruvius—*Las Medidas del Romano*.¹ It was written by Diego de Sagredo, royal chaplain, who gives the classic proportions or *medidas* by means of a quaint dialogue between an architect and a painter employed in Toledo Cathedral. The dedication of the book runs as follows:

Of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Señor Don Alonso de Fonseca Archbishop of Toledo Primate of all Spain High Chancellor of Castilla Diego de Sagredo Chaplain of the Queen Our Lady kisses with humble reverence the very magnificent hands.

On considering most illustrious señor the great inclination which you have for building and what you have done in Santiago and what it is hoped you will do in this your diocese of Toledo I have based on the works of the ancients who wrote largely on the science of architecture this brief dialogue in which are set down the measurements which those officials should know who would like to imitate Roman buildings and for lack of which measurements they have committed and every day do commit errors of disproportion and are unfaithful in the formation of bases and capitals which they design for such buildings.

In answer to the author's hint as to the diocese of Toledo Don Alfonso or Alonso de Fonseca decided to enlarge and remodel in Renaissance the Palacio Arzobispal at Alcalá and employed Alonso de Covarrubias for the purpose. The project was hardly under way, however, when the great patron of art fell ill in Alcalá and died (1534). "The news was sent" to quote old Doctor Salazar de Mendoza's *Life of Cardinal Tavera*, published in 1603, "to the Emperor at Toledo whereupon the courtiers commenced as is their custom to

¹ The interesting woodcuts for the first edition of *Las Medidas* are believed to have been made by Felipe de Vigarní. Sagredo's work, under the title of *La Raison d'Architecture extraite de Vitruve et d'autres Architectes antiques* (1542), was also the first book on classic architecture known in France.

speculate upon the providing of the archbishopric, casting their eyes much upon Cardinal Manrique." But Charles V we are further told cast his eyes even more upon Cardinal Juan de Tavera. He, when duly appointed, authorized Covar-



FIG. 16—Two Figures from the Sillería, Toledo Cathedral.
Carved by Alonso de Berruguete and Felipi Vigarñi and finished in 1543.

rubias to continue the archiepiscopal palace at Alcalá as arranged by the late primate. The escutcheons of both Tavera and Fonseca appear throughout the ornament.

As the palace stands to-day it is an incoherent mass, every archbishop from the twelfth century down to the eighteenth having tried to leave his stamp on it. It was much



PATIO OF THE PALACIO ARZOBISPAL, ALCALÁ DE HENARES.
Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect.

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abused by the French when they overran Spain, and even more by the conscripts to whose use the Spanish government later dedicated it. These used the best apartments for kitchens, burned bits of the splendid ceilings for firewood, and tore up the floors in their hunt for buried treasure (but which, apparently, the cautious bishops had previously removed). The state tried to atone by beginning an elaborate restoration in the seventies and creating the building an Archivo Nacional. The renovation is still in progress. The portion which needed it least, fortunately, was that by Covarrubias, comprised in the west wing of the palace. This wing forms one side of the entrance forecourt and balances the fourteenth-century east wing built in Mudéjar (and now aggressively restored). The exterior offers nothing worthy of notice but the interior contains the finest patio of the Plateresque period (Plate X).

· √ This famous patio is two stories high, the lower with semicircular arches and the upper supported on lintels with bracketed columns. Apparently the local *piedra de Tamajón* had no great reputation for tensile strength for wherever lintels were used granite was substituted. To conceal the butting of the lintel over the column a marble medallion was inserted as may be seen in Fig. 17. The magnificent stairway (Plate XII) is obviously an offspring of that at Toledo. Llaguno says that Covarrubias "probably worked on the Santa Cruz but there is so little Renaissance there that he must have learned it elsewhere." On the contrary, while the Alcalá stair does not prove that Covarrubias learned all his Renaissance from his father-in-law, it does prove that he had seen enough in the Santa Cruz not only to study but to use as a prototype. In plan and scheme of ornamentation the two stairs are much alike, but this at Alcalá has that superiority which one expects to find on recalling that Covarrubias grew up in the Renaissance whereas Egas acquired it after long practice in Gothic. And furthermore the Alcalá architect had the collaboration of the most gifted sculptor of the Spanish Renaissance, Alonso de Berruguete. But all question of sculptured ornament aside, the patio and stair,

for their beautiful proportions alone, would still be a credit to the designer.

The stair, like that at Toledo, is surrounded by a treatment of rusticated panels but here each panel is beautifully carved



FIG. 17—Upper Story of Patio of the Palacio Arzobispal, Alcalá.
Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect, 1535 et seq.

(Fig. 18). All told there are two hundred and twenty-eight of them in endless variety and purposely underscaled to exhibit the adroitness of the Plateresque carver. Practically un-restored, they offer a convenient opportunity to study his technique. The first impression is that of inimitable definition of line, and yet the subjects carved are so vague and

fantastic that the result is a curious sort of determinate impressionism. These panels, like the capitals and carved pilasters, are comparatively free from Italian influence, and show that same marked preference for robust animal forms



FIG. 18—Detail of Rustication from the Patio of the Archbishops' Palace, Alcalá.

already noted in Covarrubias's ornament in Toledo Cathedral. Especially are the caps of the stair columns a digression, the dragon-head supported by amorini supplanting the volute and acanthus of the classic cap (see Fig. 19). Whether the aridness of the country in which Spanish monuments were reared was responsible for this aversion to using plant life decoratively is difficult to say, but certain it is that there was more inspiration for such motifs in Italy than on the bare plain of Castile. On the other hand we have, besides the

Spanish passion for depicting the human figure in tense action, the fact that every small living thing represented in their ornament was close to them in their daily life. This is specially true of the ubiquitous bird; no Spanish child but catches

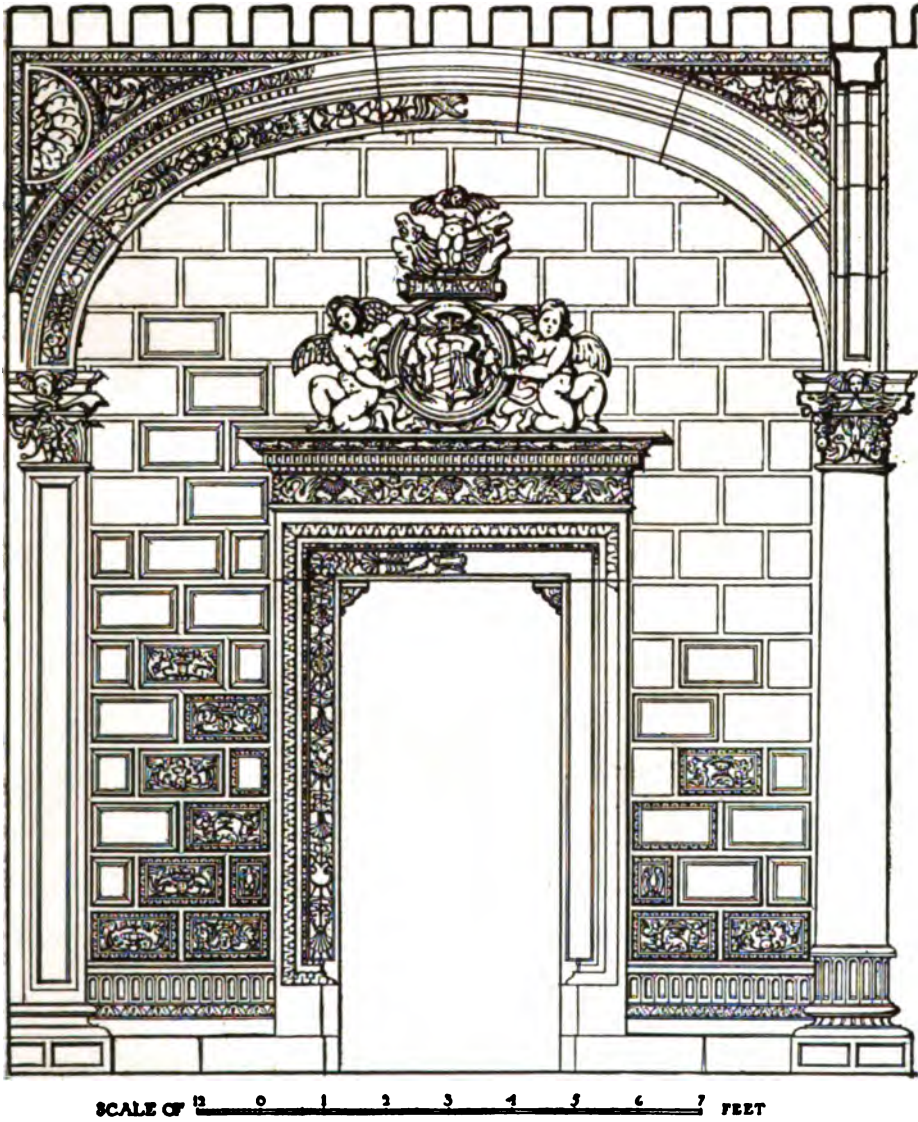


FIG. 19—Capital by Alonso de Berruguete from the Palacio Arzobispal, Alcalá de Henares. (Now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid.)

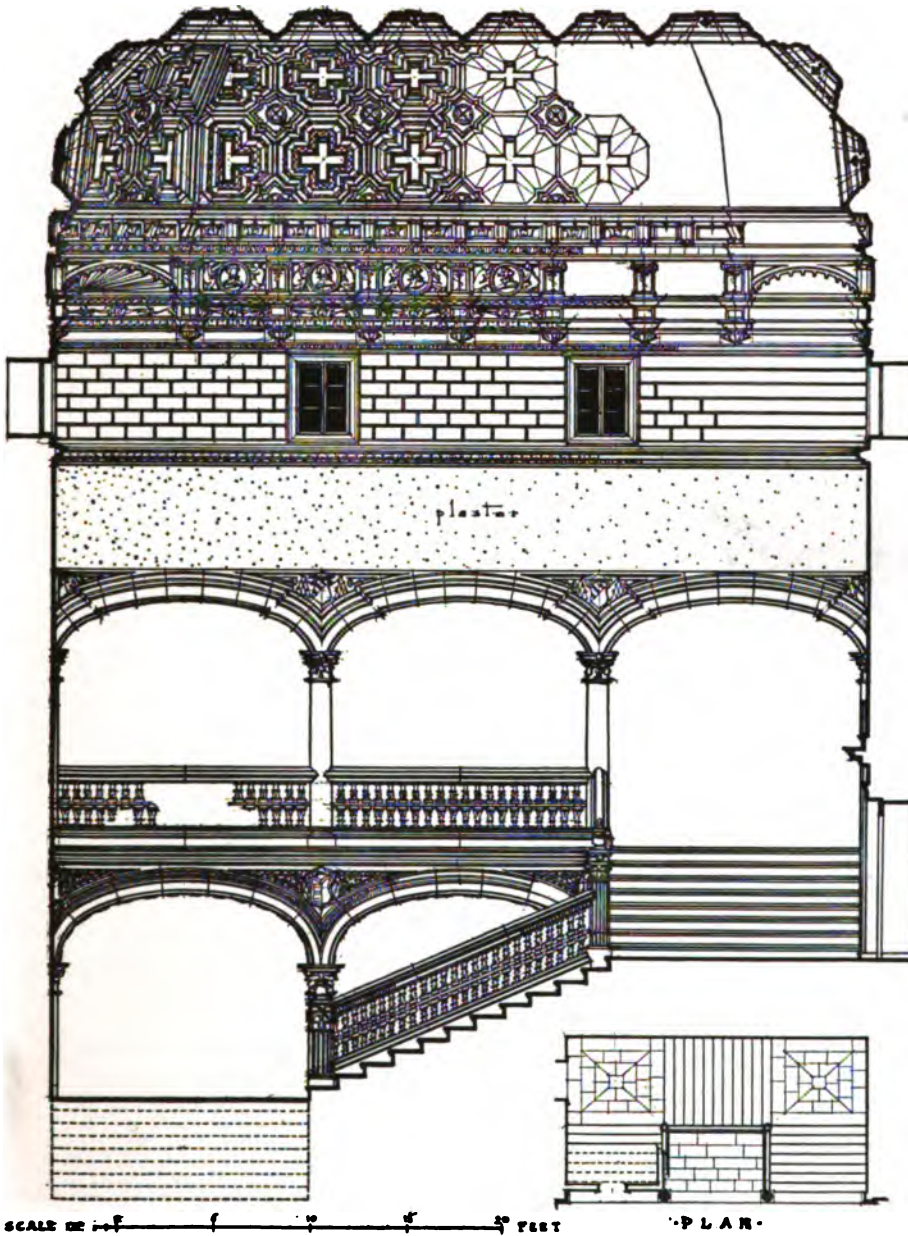
and playfully torments every unlucky *pajaro* that comes within his reach; and it is for this reason, perhaps, that Murillo's Holy Family in which the Child Jesus is showing His captive is a special favorite in every home.

The treatment of the entire stairhall, embracing the arcading of the second story and the fine artesonado ceiling, forms a very complete composition and one totally unlike

ALCALA DE HENARES
A DOORWAY IN THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL PALACE



DOORWAY IN THE PALACIO ARZOBISPAL, ALCALÁ DE HENARES.
Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect, 1535 et seq.



SECTION THROUGH STAIRWAY OF THE PALACIO ARZOBISPAL, ALCALÁ DE HENARES.

Alonso de Covarrubias, Architect, 1535 et seq.

anything to be found in the rest of Europe (Plate XII). The Spaniard having accepted the principles of wooden ceilings in his secular work, made every effort to reduce his supporting masonry to a minimum; this is clearly evidenced in the light and graceful elliptical arches of the first and second stories. What the style lacks in orthodox principles is atoned for by its rare decorative consistency. Yet so far as the practical problems of stereotomy are concerned Covarrubias advanced but little on the work of his father-in-law. Balusters are still carved in groups of six or seven from one block of stone, newel and balustrade still join awkwardly, and richly worked bands intersect promiscuously with others of different profile. All of which means that it was the sculptor who dominated in work that was primarily architectural and that only a general design was furnished by the architect.

Of the many fine artesonados encountered in Spain this over the staircase is particularly remarkable as a Renaissance adaptation of Moorish methods. In plan the lower part conforms to the rectangular stair-hall, but by canting the corners the ends of the upper part become semi-hexagonal; the vaulted portion is then divided off into octagonal coffers arranged in various planes. The entire ornamental scheme while eastern in appearance is carried out in the Italian style; that is, simple polygons replace the intricate figures of the Moors. Plainer examples may be seen on the second floor in the ceilings to the suite known as the Sala Cisneros, the Sala Fonseca, and the Sala Tavera, but here there has been so much restoration that one cannot accept what he sees as sixteenth-century work. Much less tampered with is a series of five ceilings in rooms lying beyond those just mentioned. One of the series is illustrated in Fig. 20. All are carved in soft reddish pine and left undecorated; their geometric panels are designed with a fine sense of scale for the rooms they adorn and the Renaissance detail is forcefully carved, though not without that Moorish stamp which the race left on all the carpentry of Spain. Besides the frieze of wood supporting the ceilings, several rooms have in addition a secondary frieze of plaster or *yesería* worked at much finer scale.

The two were a combination often used by the Moors and are again mentioned in the description of Peñaranda palace (Chapter IV). The various salons of the cardinals are entered from the patio by unusually beautiful doorways. The archi-

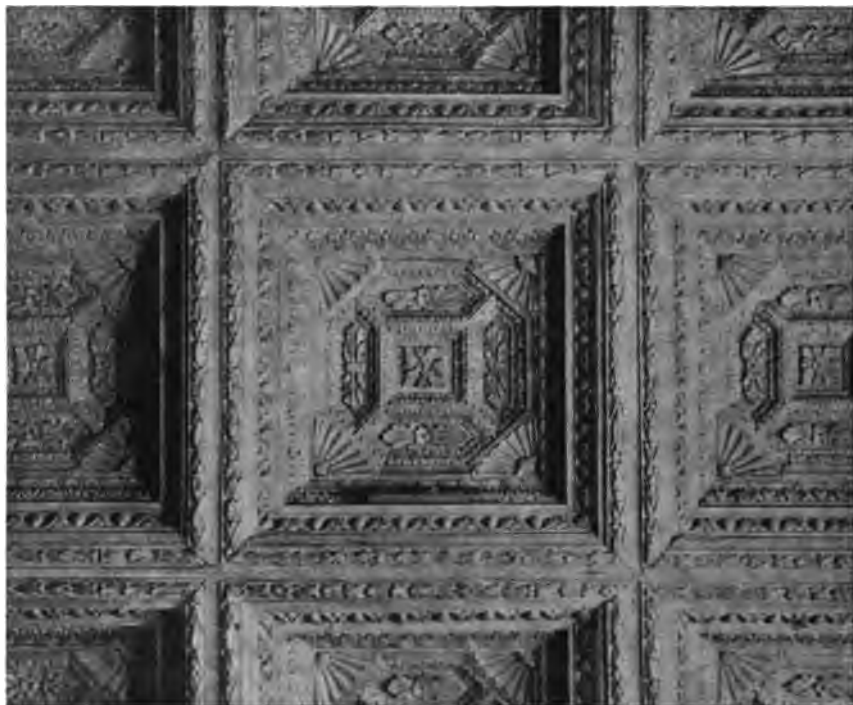


FIG. 20—Wooden Artesonado in the Palacio Arzobispal, Alcalá de Henares.

traves are finely moulded and in the frieze of each is inscribed *JOHANNES TAVERA CARDINALIS*. The same cardinal's blazon is employed in the motif above the cornice.

More will be heard of Alonso de Covarrubias in succeeding chapters. He lived till 1570, a very serious and very industrious architect; nevertheless, great though he undoubtedly was, there is no one building that can be pointed to as wholly his. Indeed the same might be said of most of the noted architects of the century; a complete building by any one of them would be a treat for the student in Spain.

In the University of Alcalá we meet a less prolific master and one who went his way little influenced by the conven-

PLATE XIII



PILASTER PANELS OF THE PALACIO ARZOBISPAL, ALCALÁ DE HENARES.
Covarrubias, Architect; Berruguete, Sculptor. 1535 et seq.

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tionalities of composition. This was Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón; and he too found in Alcalá a building already in existence to restrict him. The university, as previously stated, was founded by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros in 1497 and opened by him in 1508 before he went off to Africa to lead his army against the infidels and win the victory of Orán. The following description, taken from Alvaro Gomez's interesting life of the cardinal (*De vita et rebus gestis Francisci Ximenii*) is given to show how little change there has been since those remote days in the solemn function of laying a corner-stone.

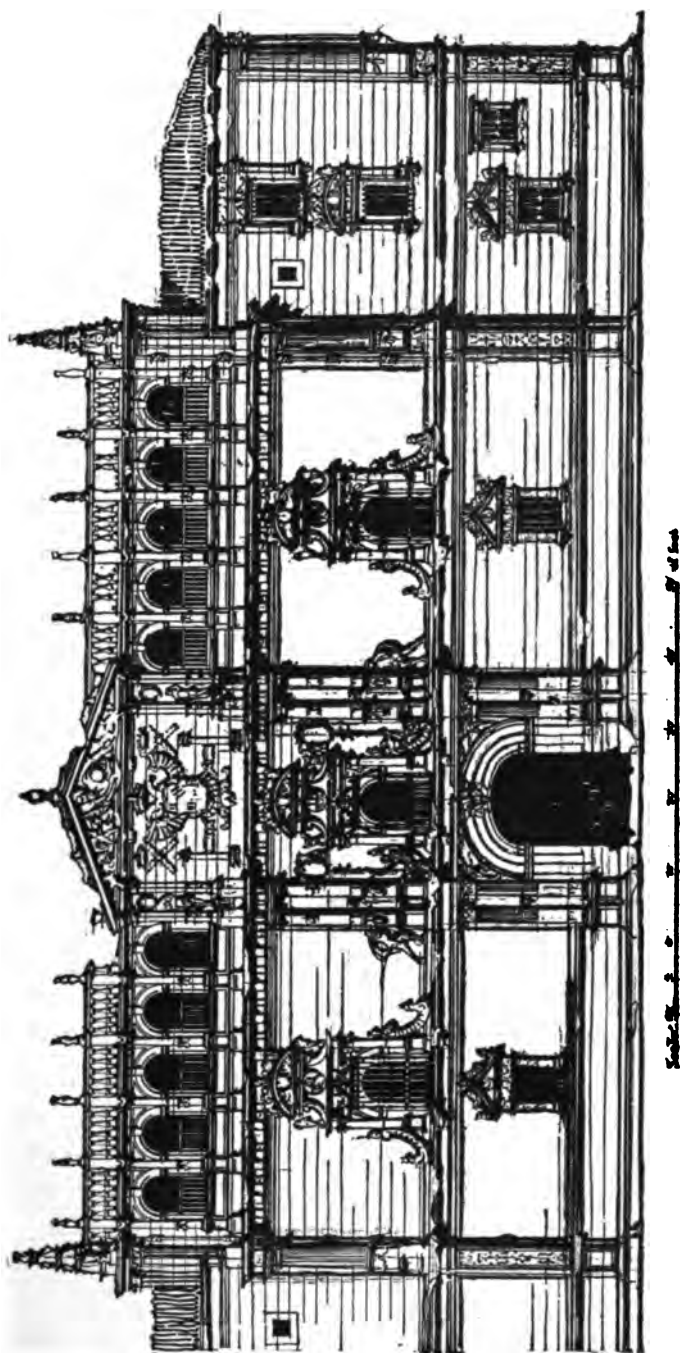
One March afternoon in 1497 a splendid procession left the Colegiata with music and holding the cross on high and marched to the spot where digging had commenced for the new college. Pedro Gumiel who had been associated with Enrique de Egas in the capilla mayor of Toledo had the corner-stone ready; also the plan of the building and some coins of gold and silver and a little bronze image. The Cardinal in his Franciscan habit knelt and prayed, and then blessed the stone and laid it in place. In the breast of the bronze image was a hollow in which was placed a piece of parchment with the date and names of both founder and architect. Gonzalo Zegrí, a Moorish chief who had been baptized in Granada into our Holy Faith, threw in the coins. Then the Te Deum was sung and the procession marched slowly back.

The buildings were of brick, and King Ferdinand on visiting them asked the old priest if it had not been a mistake to embody such a sublime idea in mere clay. "Sire," replied the cardinal confidently, "I expect the studious youths to whom I hand it over as mere clay to convert it into marble." The aspiring rector of 1540, taking the founder's words literally, ordered Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón to demolish Gumiel's brick façade and rebuild it in stone and marble. This architect made the plans and started the work, and then, being busy at the time with his father on the cathedrals of Salamanca and Segovia, he hired one Pedro de la Coteria to remain on the spot as superintendent. Presumably the master himself came often to Alcalá also. When the present façade, the most distinctive one of the style we are considering, was finished the

event was celebrated, according to Coterá's expense-book "by illumination of rockets in Alcalá which cost two reals and a half."

It was the year 1553 that witnessed this pennyworth of fireworks. Such a rapid advance into the middle of the century may seem premature but Spain's Renaissance could not be treated chronologically without making constant flights into the four corners of the kingdom, thereby sacrificing what is more important than sequence—continuity of local traditions and local color. Moreover anyone who lingers in Alcalá comes to feel that palace and university are contemporaries in spirit. The very stone itself, from nearby Tamajón, gives them a kinship, to say nothing of Ontañón's having worked at the same time on the still unfinished archiepiscopal residence. This architect was the son of the highly esteemed Gothicism Gil de Ontañón or Hontañón who had been commissioned to erect Spain's last two examples of the style, the cathedrals of Salamanca and Segovia (begun, by the way, years after Egas had inaugurated the new style). In both of these undertakings Gil was succeeded by his son Rodrigo as maestro mayor.¹ A considerable number of parish churches in the same exhausted Gothic are also attributed to the latter. "Moreover Rodrigo sometimes exercised himself in the Greco-Romano style" to quote the ingenuous Llaguno "but the truth is that in this kind of architecture Rodrigo Gil does not merit praise as in his Gothic, because he did not know the proper proportions and showed the same bad taste as Covarrubias or even worse." Happily for the charm of the Alcalá façade (see Plate XIV) its architect knew less about the *Medidas del Romano* than his critic or, if he knew as much, declined to confine his ideas of classic architecture to a mere system of rules and regulations. He therefore did not hesitate to reduce the orders to a decorative superficiality both in the center motifs and in the end treatments. In fact, orders interested him but little and where he did consent to use them

¹ In the cloister of Segovia Cathedral is Rodrigo's tomb on which it may be read that he laid the first stone of "this holy church." But the only corner-stone he could have laid is that of the capilla mayor which he began immediately after being appointed architect in 1560. His father had already worked thirty-five years on the cathedral which, though incomplete, had been consecrated in 1558.



ELEVATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALCALÁ.
Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón, Architect, 1553.

they detract from, rather than add to, a façade distinguished for its fine composition. This is immediately felt in the central motif; but even the intrusiveness of this hardly spoils the general impression of simplicity. In arranging his openings Ontañón knew too well the blistering sun of Alcalá to be weaned away from a minimum of fenestration and he has restricted the huge rooms on the front to one window each—entirely adequate notwithstanding. The loggia across the top is apparently a survival of the traditional open loft in brick structures and still remains unglazed. It must be remembered that Pedro Gumiel, architect of the original brick structure, was a native of Alcalá and was probably familiar with the brick traditions of the neighboring province of Aragón, of which this open top gallery was one. Thus it may have already existed in the first

design and if so, it suited Ontañón to retain it for his own composition; perhaps even the fenestration in the lower story follows Gumiel's. The decoration however harks back to the Lombard windows of the Santa Cruz at Toledo. The detail at Alcalá is curiously inconsistent; carving as fine as that in the portrait medallions of the three principal windows, or in the pilaster panels of the lower openings, would satisfy the most exacting taste; but as much cannot be said for the feeble work



FIG. 21—Detail from the Façade of the University of Alcalá.

Rodrigo Gil Ontañón, Architect, 1553.

over the entrance arch or for the shapeless amorini above all the windows. It is not known who carved the finer bits but they are in the Berruguete manner. Plenty of available talent could be summoned from Toledo Cathedral where an army of sculptors was employed and where Berruguete and Vigarní were then completing what are probably the finest stalls ever carved.

Apropos of the royal blazon so conspicuous on this façade a word is necessary as to the decorative part it plays in Spanish architecture. Without going minutely into its history¹ the reader may be reminded that to the escutcheon adopted in 1475 for united Spain—Castile, León, and Aragón—was added the *granada* or pomegranate after the fall of the last Moorish kingdom in 1492. On Queen Isabella's death her daughter *Juana la Loca* or Joan the Mad became queen of Castile, and as Joan's Burgundian husband Philip the Fair reigned for a brief time as Felipe I, it was necessary to incorporate all his quarterings and emblems with hers for use on public documents and monuments. This was already a very complicated and sumptuous affair, but when their son Charles I of Spain became Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, it grew still more so. Charles changed the one-headed eagle of the Evangelist, so dear to Isabella, for the two-headed eagle of Germany with the crown over both its heads. The collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece surrounded the eagle, and below were the Pillars of Hercules intertwined by a ribbon bearing the words *plus ultra*, in allusion to Charles's dominions in the new world. This proud emblem of Spain's sixteenth-century power was first used over the entrance to the Alcázar of Toledo, where it may still be seen; but perhaps it was never more artistically worked out than at Yuste (Fig. 22), the monastery to which Charles retired in 1556 after abdicating in favor of his son Philip II. In this armorial panel the castle of Castile, the lion of León, the upright bars of Aragón, the cross of Naples, and the chains of Navarre alternate with the Hapsburg emblems—the fillet of Austria, the lily of Artois, the lion of Brabant, and the bands of Burgundy. In the little

¹ A history of the Escudo de España may be found in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*, vol. xxi., 1909.

central shield are the lion and eagle of Flanders and Tyrol and in the lower part of the main shield the pomegranate. The collar of the *Toison d'Or* with its little pendent Holy Lamb surrounds the shield and back of it stands the imperial eagle,



FIG. 22—Escutcheon of Charles V. over the Portal of the Monastery at Yuste.

his claws clutching the Pillars of Hercules. That an emblem signifying so much should have been dignified into a truly monumental motif by the sixteenth-century designer is but natural; that he succeeded in architecturalizing it into a valuable addition to his gamut of themes is to his credit. The Alcalá façade, that of the rival university at Salamanca (Fig. 41), the Puerta Visagra of Toledo, and most unique of all, the iron reja of the Capilla Real in Granada (Plate LIII), are a few of the many examples which show how effectively

it was used. There is, on the other hand, at least one glaring example of its abuse—the church of La Magdalena at Valladolid (1570) whose west front is, according to George Street, “the *ne plus ultra* of heraldic absurdity.”



FIG. 23—Blind Window in the Façade of the University of Alcalá, with a Reja by Juan Francés.

To return to Ontañón's façade at Alcalá; there are Gothic touches in the clustered pilasters surmounted by crocketed pinnacles, and again in the statuette supports between the columns of the first and second stories. A personal, story-telling note, irresistible to him, was the great twisted rope framing the whole central motif—the girdle of the Franciscan Order to whose rigorous vows the great archbishop remained

true even when he was practically ruler of Spain. At the extreme end of each flanking wing there is a facetious little false window inserted, *reja* and all (Fig. 23). It is of beautiful detail, and back of the *reja*, instead of blank wall, the stone has been carved into charming panels in imitation of wooden shutters. This *reja* and all the other rich examples on the building are by Juan Francés. A more beautiful yellowish hue than that into which the Tamajón stone has been calcined would be hard to find, at least outside of Spain; but it is very worn and crumbled, and it is to be feared that the work of restoration, although in competent hands, will be most difficult. Moreover, the character of the sculptured ornament is so illusive that a modern worker can hardly catch its spirit. Summing up this one Renaissance venture of Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón's it may be said that its defects, and there are many, are of a superficial nature but that its virtues are very fundamental and worthy of much study. Whether it justifies the obliteration of the humble brick front that so well expressed the character of the simple, lowly-born founder of the university is another matter. Don Pedro de Madrazo who supplied the text on this building in the series of *Los Monumentos Arquitectonicos de España* does not appear to think so. "Italy, land of classic paganism," he declares, "never understood the spirit of the schools created in the shadow of the cloister, and so gave herself up with exaggerated ardor to the reconstruction of pagan civilization. Spain, on the contrary, whether because of the stoic character of the race or because the stern Catholicism for which she had fought so bitterly for seven centuries was ineradicable in her, remained faithful to the teachings of her theologians and moralists, and found paganism very antipathetic. . . . Its amorini, cherubs, satyrs, nude allegorical figures, were inharmonious with the severe national spirit; not until Charles V's day did these appear in ornament, which had formerly been confined to chaste plant forms."

The interior of the university, now a seminary for priests, holds nothing of interest. It keeps to Gumiel's plan of three patios, the best of which is that of the *Trilengue* (three lan-

guages) built by Pedro de la Coteria in 1557 with an effective second-story treatment. Adjoining this is the *paraninfo* or auditorium where the learned faculty used to listen to the youthful competitors. It is said that this was once a handsome hall but what is now left of its decoration is poor, yet both the yasería and ceiling treatment are known to have been executed by the same men who decorated the fine Sala Capítular for Cardinal Jiménez in Toledo Cathedral. It is nevertheless distinctly inferior even when all allowance is made for the abuse it has received.

After the two buildings described the next object of interest in Alcalá is the tomb of the illustrious cardinal. He was first buried in the chapel of his university but now lies in the church called La Magistral, a poor late Gothic edifice said to be by Pedro Gumiel. His sepulchre is one of the most magnificent that the Renaissance produced outside of Italy; but in ordering it his executors paid little heed to his tastes for he, the most uncompromisingly Catholic figure of his age, was laid away amid a veritable revel of nude cherubs and winged creatures. It was designed by the best Italian sculptor who came to Spain, Domenico Fancelli of Florence (see page 169). Domenico had already attained fame for the tombs of the Infante Juan and the Catholic Kings. He was selected for this new commission not so much by the cardinal's executors as by the young Emperor whose conscience, it is said, was pricking him for his ungrateful treatment of the faithful old regent. Fancelli presented drawings and signed the contract in 1518 but died immediately after "for which reason" as Llaguno logically remarks "he could not do the work." The Spaniard Bartolomé Ordóñez, protégé of Bishop Fonseca of Burgos, was entrusted to carry out the Florentine's designs. Don José Martí y Monsó discovered, and published in his volume of *Estudios Histórico-Artísticos* (1891), the contract made between the executors of Cardinal Cisneros and the Italian. This is given in the chapter on Granada where the work of these two sculptors is fully discussed. The Alcalá tomb is surrounded by a magnificent bronze grille or verja known to have been ex-

ecuted by Nicolás de Vergara but probably from Ordóñez's design.

The influx of Renaissance into Alcalá did not stimulate any of the residents to build themselves palaces in the new



FIG. 24—Portal of the Convento de las Carmelitas, Alcalá de Henares.

style. There appears to be one dwelling of the period, the Casa de los Lizanos, but its entrance is an unintelligent assembling of curious motifs. There is however one portal of considerable merit in the town, that to the Convent of the Carmelitas (Fig. 24). It is cut in the usual warm-hued stone, strengthened by granite for lintel and jambs. There is good carving in the caps and pilasters apparently by one of the group who had worked on the Palacio Arzobispal and who was expert in using the same motifs.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOL OF FRANCISCO DE COLONIA IN BURGOS

BISHOP JUAN RODRIGUEZ DE FONSECA AND HIS PROTÉGÉS—THE FONSECAS AT COCA AND SALAMANCA—THE PUERTA DE LA PELLEJERÍA BY FRANCISCO DE COLONIA—FRANCISCO'S EASILY RECOGNIZED PECULIARITIES—HIS DOOR TO THE SACRISTY OF THE CONSTABLE'S CHAPEL—THE REJERO CRISTÓBAL DE ANDINO AS A RENAISSANCE DESIGNER—THE ESCALERA DORADA BY DIEGO DE SILOE—OTHER PLATERESQUE WORKS IN BURGOS CATHEDRAL—THE HOSPITAL DEL REY—THE CASA MIRANDA

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOL OF FRANCISCO DE COLONIA IN BURGOS

IT has been stated that the great churchmen vied with each other in fostering the new art; therefore to say that a Fonseca was bishop of Burgos in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century is to say that the ancient Castilian capital soon saw Renaissance importations. There is however egregious exaggeration in a native author's assertion that "during the years when Don Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca was in the episcopal chair he made of Burgos, not only through the number and fame of the artists it produced, but also through the quantity and excellence of their works, the Florence of Spain." The author omits to add that no important Renaissance structure was ever put up in Burgos, as in Florence; that to this day it is a Gothic city. It will presently be shown that it was not in the erection of Renaissance monuments that Fonseca nourished the new style, but in the encouragement and protection he gave to the younger generation who were eager to study it; these, however, soon carried it away to other parts. Burgos with a magnificent Gothic cathedral still building had long been a magnet to the northerners—Germans, Flemings, Burgundians—among them Annequin de Egas and his brothers, Juan de Colonia and his sons, Diego de Copín, and others whose names were similarly Spaniolized. Some changed their style to suit the new patron but the best known men in the Plateresque field were Spaniards, lads just entering their career as assistants to the Gothicists when the new ideas began to arrive. To this group belong Alonso de Covarrubias, Diego de Siloe, Cristóbal de Andino, Bartolomé Ordóñez, and Francisco de Colonia, the one who

never deserted the bleak old town. Then there was the Burgundian Philippe, known as Felipe de Borgoña or de Vigarní (of Bourgogne), most noted among the younger foreigners who were practicing, more or less tentatively, the new art. As an itinerant image carver in France he had picked up considerable knowledge of Italian forms before coming to work in Burgos Cathedral about 1499. This list of names, and it is far from being sufficient, justifies the claim of local historians that the majority of architects and sculptors who worked in Castile and Andalusia between 1500 and 1550 had made their début in Burgos.

The name Fonseca has appeared so often in this story of sixteenth century art that it deserves a brief biographical word. The vast ruined castle at Coca¹ some distance north of Segovia was the family seat of these FONSECAS who were Señores de Coca y Alaejos, Condes de Villanueva de Cañedo, and held many other titles. Throughout three reigns, or from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, they filled the highest offices of church and state, while in art matters they played in their small way somewhat the same part as that played by the Medicis in Italy. Just what is due to each member, however, is not always clear. During the century cited there were ten Fonseca bishops, three of them named Alfonso, and all moving successively from one bishopric to another. Needless to add that the chroniclers of the day took little trouble to differentiate between them; and as most of the family archives were destroyed when the Comuneros sacked Coca Castle the confusion seems beyond hope of remedy. Certain it is, however, that Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Palencia, was the foremost figure in the Renaissance movement in northern Castile; that Alfonso, Bishop of Santiago and Patriarch of Alexandria, was similarly active in Salamanca, and that the

¹ "Its tall towers and clustering turrets still attest its former magnificence and point to a local style of defensive architecture differing from that of any other part of Europe, but even more picturesque than the best examples of France and England. . . . A monograph of this military architecture of Spain during the Middle Ages would be almost as interesting as that of her ecclesiastical remains." Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. ii, page 287.



ENTRANCE TO THE SACRISTY OF THE CAPILLA DEL CONDESTABLE
BURGOS CATHEDRAL.

By Francisco de Colonia, 1512.

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latter's son Alfonso, Archbishop of Toledo, outshone them both "in his great inclination for building" to quote the *Medidas del Romano*. Don Juan of Burgos with whom we are here concerned was responsible for the advent into Castile

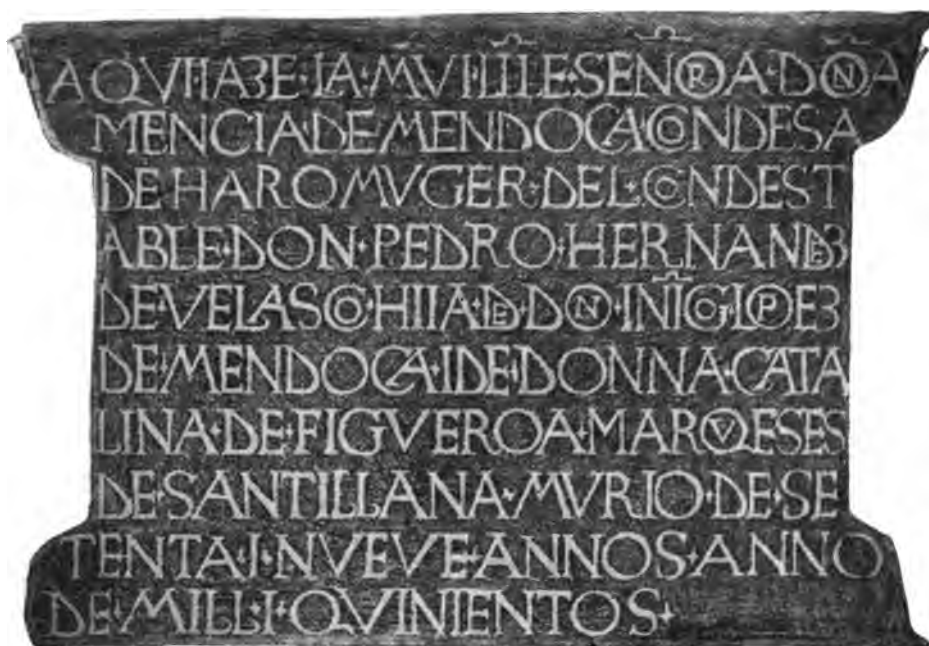


FIG. 25—Rubbing from the Tomb of Doña Mencía de Mendoza, Wife of the Constable of Castile, Burgos Cathedral.

Here lies the very illustrious señora Doña Mencía de Mendoza Countess of Haro wife of the Constable Don Pedro Hernandez de Velasco daughter of Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza and of Donna Catalina de Figueroa Marqueses of Santillana died of seventy and nine years Anno of one thousand five hundred.

of an enormous number of foreign works of art. Palencia, his other see, benefited largely thereby, as witness her superb collection of Flemish tapestries. These were ordered on the occasion referred to in the following inscription from the notable triptych in the trascoro: "In the year MDV the reverend and magnificent Señor Don Juan de Fonseca Bishop

of Palencia ordered this image of Our Lady of Compassion to be made being then in Flanders as ambassador for the Señor



FIG. 26—Puerta de la Pellejería, Burgos Cathedral.

Francisco de Colonia, Architect. 1516.

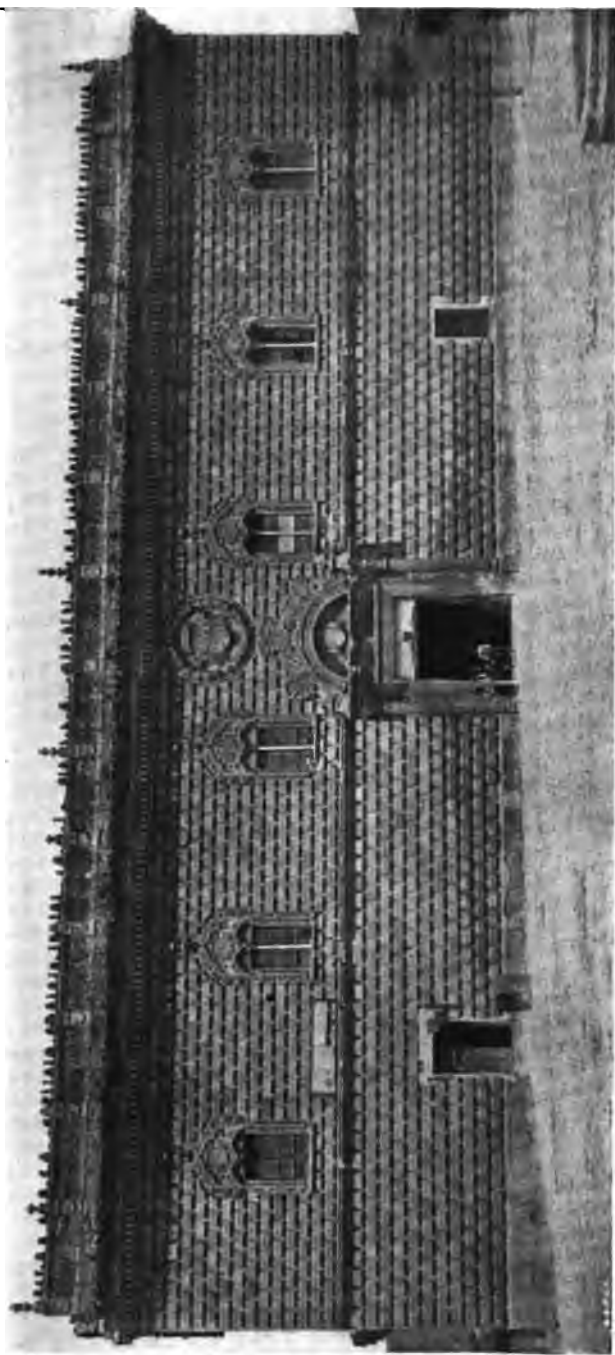
King Don Fernando with the Queen Doña Juana." In Burgos Cathedral Fonseca not only imported works of art, he built them. From Seville, in his capacity as head of the Casa de Contratación, a sort of Colonial Foreign Office established soon after the discovery of the new world (see page 212), he sent out "the necessary works of art for the

proposed churches." Another indication of the Fonseca standing in art matters is that Juan's brother Antonio, who was one of Queen Isabella's executors, selected, or at any rate contracted with, several of the artists who decorated the royal burial chapel at Granada. It is through devious channels like this that we may trace the bishop's influence and the reason why so many young Burgalese were employed in other cities.

About 1516 he ordered a portal to be built in the north transept of Burgos Cathedral and wanted it in the latest development of Italian architecture. This door is known as the *Puerta de la Pellejería* (Fig. 26) because it gives outlet to the street of the Furriers or *Pellejeros*. The architect was Francisco de Colonia, grandson of Juan—that Meister Hans von Cöln to whom according to Professor Justi "Burgos Cathedral owes its renown as the most beautiful church in Spain." Francisco was appointed *maestro de las obras* in 1511 and from then on enjoyed a fame which, if one dare declare it, appears disproportionate to his talents. Besides his Renaissance work for the cathedral, he built at least in part several palaces in the province, and carved the fine Gothic retablo in the parish church of San Nicolás. Comparing the *Puerta de la Pellejería* with Enrique de Egas's hospital door at Toledo one sees that while the notions of both architects were confused as to Renaissance composition this is offset in the hospital by a true artist's appreciation of the charm of Italian ornament. Francisco missed this. All his ornament shows a certain heaviness and lack of sentiment. Then there are his pronounced mannerisms, worth looking into here since they enable one to identify the Colonia school throughout the province—a rectangular opening surmounted by an arch that is purely ornamental and from which radiate crude acanthus forms; gigantic garlands that coarsely echo Della Robbia draping the doorway on each side; capitals, the keynote to the skill of any Renaissance architect, of unlovely bell-shape; and finally a profusion of ornament in the pilasters and frieze panels so perfunctory that it strongly suggests modern stamped work. In short, nowhere is there a trace of

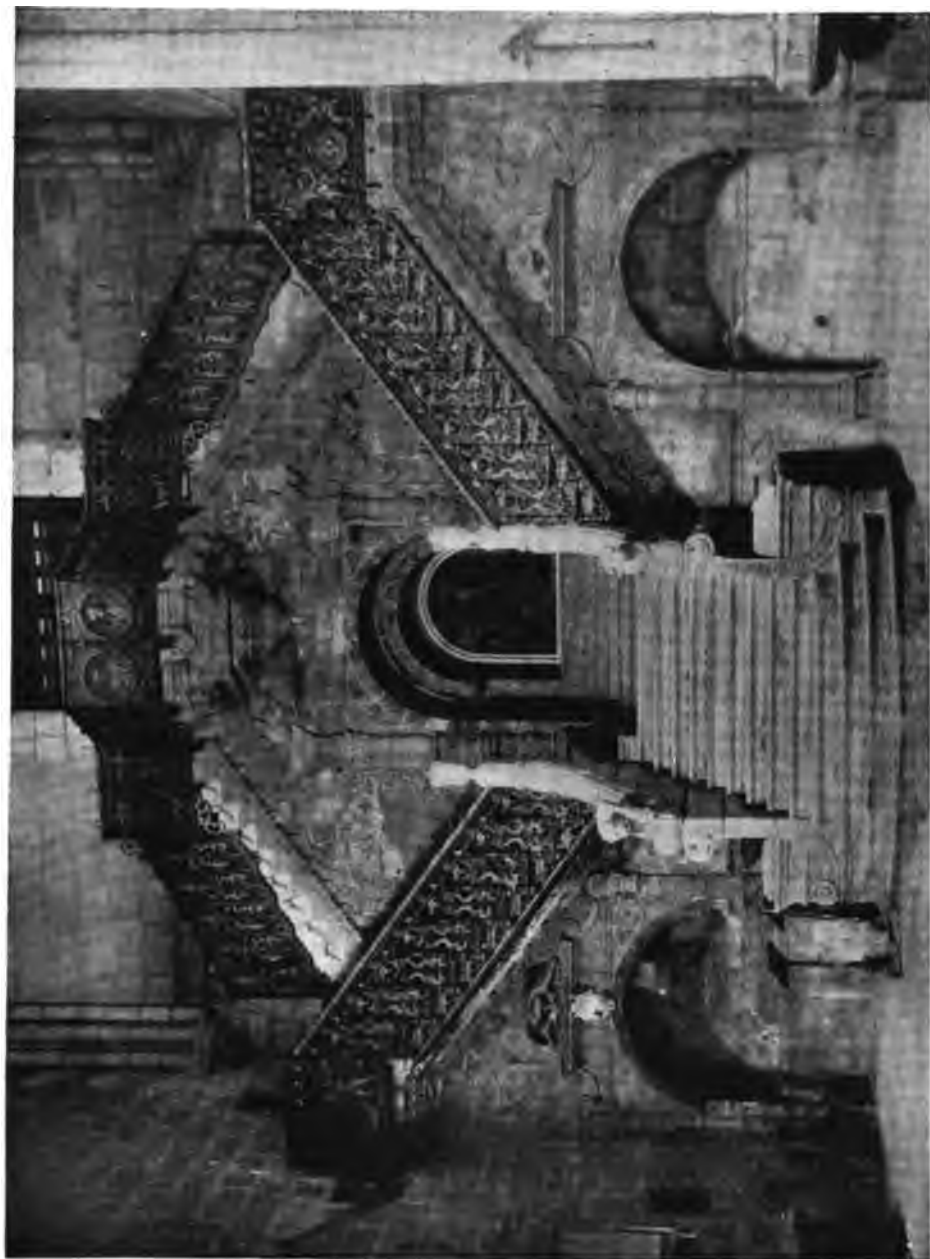
that spontaneity and realism which make even second-rate Spanish productions interesting and living. This younger Colonia, although his mother may have been Spanish, never became Spaniolized; in this respect he, his father, and his grandfather stand apart as among the very few foreigners of whom this may be said. The features enumerated above will all be found in an earlier work, the small door (Plate XV) leading from the Capilla del Condestable into the sacristy of the same chapel, but here the beautifully carved wooden door, which may be Francisco's also, imparts merit to the whole; and again they will be seen in later work such as the door added to Egas's Colegio de la Santa Cruz in Valladolid and the portals of the palaces of Cogolludo and Peñaranda (Plates XVI and XXI). Nor were they limited to portals, for several altars and sepulchres in the church of San Estéban show them. These various peculiarities, appearing in so many different localities, prove that Francisco or some imitative disciple was not lacking in vogue; yet he had a contemporary working in Burgos Cathedral, Cristóbal Andino, whose work showed keener sensitiveness to the refinements of Renaissance although it never won him popularity. Whether this reflects a lack of discrimination on the part of their priestly patron or a lack of business ability in Christopher himself would be difficult to say; but there is every proof in the reja he made for the Constable's chapel that he had finer taste and deeper Renaissance lore than the master of the works had.

Besides the portal built in the north transept by Colonia there is the early main transept door set high in the wall at the level of the hilltop street called Fernán González. To lead from it down to the floor of the church, some 30 feet below, Bishop Fonseca commissioned Diego de Siloe to build a sumptuous staircase (1519). This is the unique *escalera dorada* or golden stair, parent of all *escaliers d'honneur*, and an admirable combination of marble and iron (Plate XVII). It begins in a single short run, divides into two and reunites at the door level into a sort of spacious rostrum. The first stage, all in marble, is very graceful with its long sweeping consols and their unusual return bolsters; but the profuse



PALACIO DE MEDINACELI, COGOLLUDO.
Doorway by Francisco de Colonia.

41



THE ESCALERA DORADA, BURGOS CATHEDRAL.
Designed by Diego de Siloe, 1519.

100

decoration of allegorical bas-reliefs leaves something to be desired on the side of restraint. At the first landing begin the iron balustrades, a *chef d'œuvre* of forging whose like could not be found outside of Spain. Varying in design as they



FIG. 27—Detail from Reja of the Capilla del Condestable, Burgos Cathedral.

Cristóbal Andino, Rejero. 1523.

ascend they are worked into the Fonseca arms at the second landing and into splendidly executed repoussé heads at the rostrum. The whole work is elaborately painted and gilded. This part was long ascribed to Andino but is now known to be the work of one Maestro Hilario, a French smith. Andino at this same time was busy with a mighty piece of ironwork conceived in quite another spirit—the reja of the Capilla del Condestable which is full of the calm beauty of Italy but in a medium which the Italians never dreamed of architecturaliz-

ing to the point of monumentality. In the two charming figures of the cresting and in much of the detail (see Fig. 27) he has caught the message of the antique far more sympathetically than did any of the classicists who succeeded the



FIG. 28—Detail from the Tomb of Bishop Gonzalo de Lerma,
Burgos Cathedral.
Attributed to Diego de Siloe.

Plateresque period. This fact was appreciated by the discriminating priest who wrote the *Medidas del Romano*, for he honors the *rejero* with a paragraph pointing out how the *reja* for “my lord the Constable adheres to ancient principles” and advises architects and ironworkers to study it. The wife of this Condestable de Castilla, Don Pedro de Velasco, was a sister of *El Gran Cardenal* Mendoza; and being accustomed to the excessive richness of her father’s palace at Guadalajara, she employed Simón de Colonia to build this huge chapel in 1482 *et seq.*; amidst all its excellent but endless German



ENTRANCE TO THE HOSPITAL DEL REY, BURGOS.
Architect Unknown. 1526.





DOOR PANEL FROM THE CHAPEL OF THE HOSPITAL DEL REY, BURGOS.



ornament the restraint and the structural force of Andino's contribution is very grateful. The reja is signed and bears the date 1523. Andino is buried in a small church in the Barrio de Vega across the river Arlanzón under a monument designed by himself.

There are many other sixteenth century works in Burgos Cathedral—the new *cimborio*, the *sillería* or choir stalls, the tombs, retablos, and a mass of decorative sculpture which there is little necessity of analyzing here although the tombs and wood-carving would each deserve much attention in any history of those important branches of Spanish art. With all this ecclesiastical activity and the representative men employed such as Diego de Siloe, Felipe de Vigarní, Juan de Vallejo, and so on, one would expect to find something notable in the way of domestic and civic architecture; but the fact is that there is only one *casa particular*, the Casa Miranda, and only one public building, the Hospital del Rey, worthy of examining. And even these reflect absolutely nothing of the Burgos-trained men. Such a paucity of undertakings outside of the church is explained by the general economic condition of the old Castilian capital. The court had long since moved south and Burgos, so important in the Middle Ages, was merely vegetating in this period; not even the enthusiasm of a Fonseca could supply its impoverished or indifferent nobles with Renaissance mansions. The Hospital del Rey mentioned above lies about a mile southwest of the city on the poplar-fringed river. It is an ancient edifice of no particular form but is interesting for the Plateresque embellishment ordered by the Catholic Sovereigns; an order which, like others of their architectural projects, was not carried out until the days of their grandson Charles. The added part consists of the entrance gateway (Plate XVIII) and forecourt. It shows the royal blazon and is dated 1526. Far more architectonic in composition and superior in technique to the work of the Colonia group, it appears to be by some outside architect; and its apt use of the smaller Renaissance motifs along with the design of the exterior doorframe and the arched opening with slender columns and rather light

entablature, all point to his having worked at Salamanca. In the forecourt are several interesting bit of detail including some beautiful doors which lead to the chapel (Plate XIX). They are of walnut, a wood made famous in Spain by the splendid



FIG. 29.—Detail of an Arch Soffit, Hospital del Rey, Burgos. 1526.

carving done in it both in Gothic and Renaissance days. In the panels here, while the unknown sculptor has retained much of the Spanish vigor, he has kept the decorative quality uppermost; there is also careful work in the architectural motifs framing the panels.

It is likewise puzzling to account for the singular architect who in 1543 built the Casa Miranda, the most splendid Burgalese residence of the century. Nothing quite like it exists in all Castile. Now an almost hopeless ruin, it is used as a factory for converting pig-skins into wine-containers; and if a long-standing protest on the part of the Ayuntamiento (who have opposed its sale for removal) is not soon settled in favor of the purchaser there will be nothing left for him

to remove. Neither owner nor town council has the money to reclaim it, and as for the national government, it is already embarrassed to find uses for the many fine old structures that have been declared national monuments.

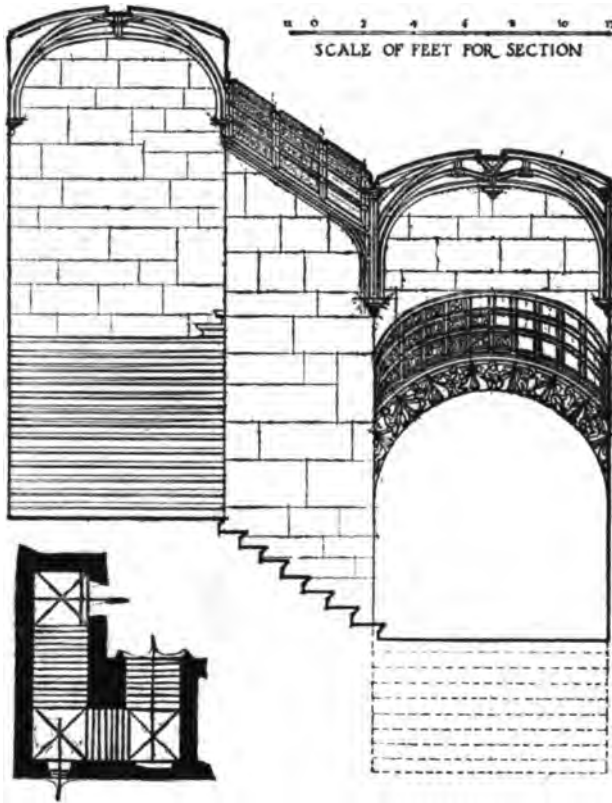


FIG. 30—Section through Stairway in the Casa Miranda, Burgos.

Meanwhile the discoloring process goes on in the beautiful Miranda patio. The house was built, according to the inscription in the frieze, by Don Francisco de Miranda, Abbot of Salas—a member of the Peñaranda family whose palace is to be examined shortly. There is no record of the architect but it is evident at a glance that he had nothing in common with others of the city. Only the vestibule, patio, and stairway retain any traces of their original beauty, the whole interior being now let out in tene-

ments. The patio (Plate XX) is very distinctive, its severe post and lintel architecture being in marked contrast to the usual arcuated style. This columnar arrangement, rare in the Plateresque period, recalls Pompeian work, particularly the



FIG. 31—Vaulting of Stairway in the Casa Miranda, Burgos. 1543.

well-known atrium of the so-called House of Ariadne. Of course this was not then exhumed but we are reminded in the *Medidas del Romano* that "the ancients had constructed magnificent works of which to-day many stand and moderns never cease to take samples from them such as drawings, measurements, tracings, models, which are sent all over the world." On the exterior of the Miranda there is nothing of this classic sophistication; only a fair Corinthian portal claims the attention. One enters through two vestibules, the first bare, the



PATIO OF THE CASA MIRANDA, BURGOS.

Architect Unknown. 1543.

(From an old picture.)



second an attractive *dégagement* square in plan and with the four semicircular arches of its sides supporting a flat octagonal dome with late Gothic vaulting. Next comes the patio at whose far end is the stairhall, and in the latter more Gothic



FIG. 32—Plateresque Belfry of Santa Maria del Campo, near Burgos.

is encountered, yet the patio is advanced Renaissance. The stairs, which are in very bad shape, are ascended through an arched opening flanked at each side by colonnettes engaged to a very flat pilaster and embellished with beautiful little arabesques. Although not built around an open well, it retains the three runs and two landings of the claustral type as may be seen in Fig. 30. In its paneled vaulting it is treated like the stairs of the smaller Renaissance *palazzi* in Italy. The panels (Fig. 31) are exquisitely carved and offer a wealth of motifs including arabesques,

scrolls, portrait medallions, and, it goes without saying, the blazon of the prelate. Returning to the patio, which is the best preserved portion of the house, one finds that there is a consistency between the post and lintel construction and the flat cloister ceiling accompanying it that is absent in the more typical arcaded gallery. The raised letters of the inscription are as much of an innovation in Plateresque as the late Roman columns. On the *antepecho* or parapet of the upper gallery, which is a holdover from Gothic, is a frieze of panels not only charming in themselves but specially well carved considering that the material is granite. It is a pity that not even this small portion of the once extensive palace can be reclaimed for its artistic value is far greater than that of the Constable's palace (Casa del Cordón) recently rehabilitated and occupied by a Burgalese family. On either side of the Miranda stand large houses of scant merit; one of them, the Casa del Angulo, while it appears to be of the sixteenth century is really of the eighteenth. In this same Calle de la Culera once lived the renowned sculptors Gil and Diego de Siloe, Nicolás de Vergara, and probably Cristóbal de Andino, since he is buried close by.

CHAPTER IV

THE DOMESTIC PLAN AND THE PALACE AT PEÑARANDA

ABANDONING THE FEUDAL CASTLES—NEW HOMES UNLIKE THOSE OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE—EVOLUTION FROM CASTILLO TO PALACIO—THE PATIO AS NUCLEUS OF PLAN AND ITS PART IN THE LIFE OF SPANISH WOMEN—LACK OF SYSTEMATIC ARRANGEMENT IN ROOMS, WHICH ARE MERELY A SERIES OF SIMILAR UNITS AROUND THE PATIO—PRACTICAL ASPECT OF THE SPANISH PLAN—LACK OF SYSTEM IN HOUSEHOLD ADMINISTRATION AND ITS EFFECT—THE KITCHEN ALMOST NEGLIGIBLE—NO BUILT-IN ACCESSORIES IN THE LIVING-ROOMS, THESE BEING DESIGNATED BY THE CONTENTS OF THE CARVED CHESTS—ABSENCE OF GARDEN TREATMENT IN FRONT OF THE PALACE—ALL THE PECULIARITIES OF PLAN AND SETTING EXEMPLIFIED IN THE PEÑARANDA PALACE—CRUDE MASONRY AND BEAUTIFUL PORTAL OF THE FAÇADE—PATIO AND SUMPTUOUS CLAUSTRAL STAIR WITH MAGNIFICENT ARTESONADO—SALONS OF THE PISO PRINCIPAL OR MAIN FLOOR AND THEIR ARTESONADOS—YESERÍA OR MOORISH PLASTERWORK—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PALACE

CHAPTER IV

THE DOMESTIC PLAN AND THE PALACE AT PEÑARANDA

AT the dawn of the sixteenth century when the long racial wars were over the nobles found themselves inheritors of feudal castles that were much the worse for wear. An order issued by the Catholic Sovereigns with a view to ending dissensions between the nobles themselves



FIG. 33—Long Gallery in the Palacio de Monterrey, Salamanca.

forbade the repairing of these strongholds. This, coming at a moment when the air was rife with humanism, sent them into the towns to build new homes, or if they already possessed Gothic houses, to modernize them. There it is, rather than in the country, that the fine palaces of the period must be sought. When found they are usually in sad condition for nowhere have poverty and deliberate abandonment worked greater havoc in ancestral seats. Studying these sixteenth-

century homes it is interesting to note their many points of departure from those which marked the advent of the modern social era in the rest of Europe. It will be seen that there is nothing in Spain corresponding to the Italian villa, the



FIG. 34—An Outdoor Kitchenette.

French château, or the English manor-house. Generally speaking the defensive castle in Spain had offered even less of the domestic amenities to its inmates than the French or English feudal home. Much of this severity and bareness survived in the succeeding period and is to-day all the more striking because stripped of the hangings and furnishings that once relieved it. The patio, like the atrium of the Roman house and the *plaza de armas* of the *castillo*, was the nucleus of the palace plan; this not only because the Spaniard was tenacious of tradition, but because it answered both to climatic requirements and to the Moorish ideas of sequestered family life with which the Spaniard was imbued. In the Spanish as in the Roman plan a large vestibule led directly to the patio,

which was open to the sky and surrounded by a covered walk. It was almost invariably of two stories, and upper and lower cloister galleries were connected by the grand claustral stairway; from the upper walk opened the private apartments. This nucleus of open quadrangle, roofed galleries, and claustral stairs served as a general living-room and was the scene of all great functions gay or sad. Moreover it was the woman's only place of recreation for in Spain the sex appears to have been as closely guarded as in Arabia.¹ So entirely did the hollow square plan accommodate itself to the scheme of domestic life that it never gave way to the open plan of exterior indentations found in Italy, France, and England. As the patio had already reached structural perfection when the sixteenth-century architect inherited it he had only to improve or modernize its decoration. Accustomed to the Moorish idea of interior richness and exterior plainness he lavished on it, rather than on the façade, his greatest wealth of ornament.

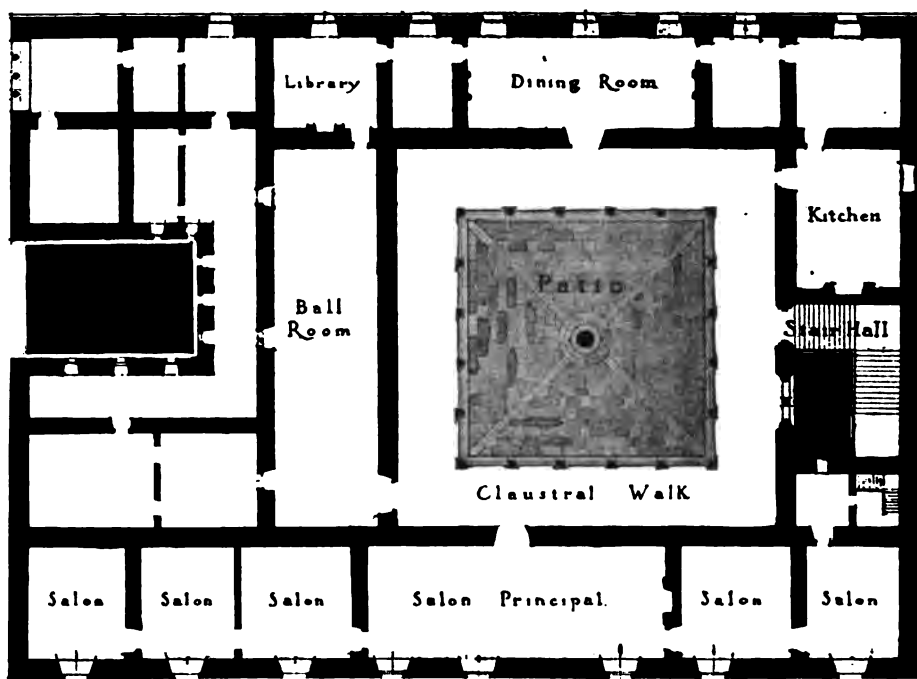
From the structural point of view it cannot be claimed that the Spanish plan ever attained that scientific adjustment of means to end that it reached in other countries where the Renaissance penetrated. During the period under consideration it made little more attempt at structural refinements than had previously sufficed. As opposed to the studied niceties of Italian planning, Spanish was nothing more than the juxtaposition of similar units around the open patio as in the Peñaranda plan (Fig. 35), the units themselves being devoid of any systematic arrangement of fenestration, doorways, or other details. This criticism can hardly be modified even in favor of the finest mansions. For this defect there are two explanations: first, in domestic work trabeated construction prevailed, for although the Spanish had shown in

¹ In the early sixteenth century we find the stern moralist Fray Fernando de Talavera censuring women of the upper classes for making church-going a pretext for appearing in public when they could avoid passing through the streets by hearing mass in the chapels of their own palaces. This aversion to having the women appear abroad makes entirely feasible the explanation of long open galleries such as are seen in the façade of the Palacio Monterey in Salamanca and the Benavente in Baeza—that they were built for the ladies to go walking (*para tomar el fresco*).

their churches as great skill in vaulting as any other European people, in their secular architecture they accepted the beamed ceilings and simple plaster walls which had satisfied the Moors. Even the popular and marvelously carpentered domical ceiling

PENARANDA

PALACIO DE LOS CONDES DE MIRANDA



SCALE OF 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 FEET

FIG. 35—Plan of the Palacio de Peñaranda de Duero.

or artesonado merely disguises a simple flat process above it. The second explanation is more or less contingent upon the first—they also accepted the Moorish principle that interior decoration required nothing of architectonic interest as a background. Thus though they introduced dados of polychrome tiles (*azulejos*), and door and window openings framed with flat bands of patterned plaster (*yesería*), the room was essentially nothing but a box with a few haphazard outlets, the

whole made sumptuous with tapestries or gilded leather hangings (*guadamaciles*). Not until really classic structural methods were introduced in the latter half of the century was there any noticeable improvement in Spanish planning. In other words, when the Spaniard adopted vaulted architecture, symmetry and studied arrangement naturally followed; but this classic movement had very little effect on domestic work.

Neither from the purely utilitarian aspect can the Spanish plan compare with that of other countries during the Renaissance—the natural result of the architect's not being called upon to meet the demands of an advanced and systematized household administration. This is specially conspicuous in the culinary quarter. In any old mansion north of the Pyrenees, even one in ruinous condition, there would be no difficulty in recognizing the kitchen. Not only would the capacious chimney-place tell the tale, but also the smoke room, larders, and communications with the dining-room and cellars; but in going through a deserted Spanish palace the kitchen can only be guessed at. Cooking was frequently accomplished out in the open; or if indoors, by burying the earthen pots of food in smouldering straw or embers; for which reasons the kitchen chimney is no more important in size than that of any other apartment that is fortunate enough to have one. The only really capacious provision for cooking is to be found in the monasteries. Regarding the diminutiveness of the Spanish kitchen a certain hidalgo is said to have retorted to Philip the Fair's criticism—it was on the latter's first visit from his own well-fed Burgundy—"Yes, Señor; and because my kitchen is small my house is great," indicating that a luxurious table had been known to bring families to ruin.¹

¹ On the subject of Spanish food and table customs there is a precious account in the *Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne*, by Antoine de Lalaing, Seigneur de Montigny, published in Brussels in 1876. Lalaing, who was Philip's chamberlain, relates how each invited guest brought his own silver and how at a banquet at the *casa real* there was displayed on the table the plate of the five grandees present. On the same occasion caballeros of lesser rank served the repast "with plenty of noise and disorder." Another curious custom was that of inviting the much cloistered ladies to dine by the devious means of sending savory cooked dishes to their home. These were borne through the streets by a procession of gorgeously liveried servants whose coming was watched from the palace windows by the sheltered ones.

It may be remarked in passing that the Castilian never was, even in his greatest affluence, a gormand, and that to this day the monotonous *cocido* or boiled chick-peas and pork satisfies every family in the land every day of the year. The entire question of food preparation being regarded with comparative indifference, the kitchen never outgrew its primitive inconspicuousness and never gathered around it those kitchen offices, pantries, laundries, passages, and entrances that were indispensable, even fundamental, in Haddon Hall and other early English mansions. In English planning such features were not only accommodated but were an important department in the early builder's consideration. As early as 1542 an English Doctor of Physicke published a guide for the layout of the house from the sanitary point of view. He advises among other things that the buttery and pantry be placed at the lower end of the great hall with the cellar under them and entered from the pantry; the larder should be annexed to the kitchen; and the stables, slaughter-house, etc., should be a certain distance away. No one appears to have been concerned with these questions in Spain. In the Spanish layout there were no such complications; through one main entrance all entered, high and low; up the one broad stair everything was carried to the family apartments on the *piso principal* without any offense to the sense of fitness; and although laundry work was done from time immemorial on the river banks there was still enough of it performed at home to keep the windows and balconies of the main façade festooned with drying linen just as one sees them to-day in even the most modern urban residences. On the first or ground floor there was only one master's room, the *recibidor*; the rest being given over to servants and animals. On the main floor or *piso principal* all apartments were about the same in appearance except that the salon was largest and sometimes had a dais; the rest were known as the linen, the tapestry, the silver room, and so on, according to what was stored in the great carved chests that stood against the wall. Never was there a built-in accessory that would have differentiated one chamber from another. The client, it will be seen, was not exacting

with his architect; and the latter, lacking the stimulus that would have come from a more highly developed domestic machinery, never emerged from the elementary in domestic planning.

Finally there is another aspect of the sixteenth-century house which harks back to the defensive Gothic—the complete absence of grounds or garden treatment. In the city this might have been justifiable to a certain extent for it must be remembered that the proud noble who owned a whole town, squalid though we of to-day may think it, always chose its heart, the stony little plaza, as the site for his palace; but in the country the lack of setting must be explained either by the Spaniard's scant love of trees or else by a lingering misgiving in the security of the times. Be this as it may one would look in vain for the setting of garden and landscape architecture that gave so much charm to the Italian villa. Gardens in the grand sense there are none in Castile except the few royal parks created in the eighteenth century by Frenchmen at the command of the Bourbons; and in the smaller, more intimate sense, there is nothing. A few potted plants sufficed. It has been aptly said that the only truly Spanish garden is that found in the old monastery cloisters—"The shrunken survival during the Middle Ages of the grand gardens of antiquity and enclosed, like the shrunken learning of the time, within convent walls." This lack of setting is accepted without comment by Spanish writers but it strikes the foreign architect harshly.¹ Castile in spite of its stern and treeless aspect can be made to produce a wealth of trees, shrubs and flowers, and surely gardens could have been created had they been considered a desirable accessory to the palace.

All the characteristics described above are exemplified in the still magnificent though dilapidated palace at Peñaranda, a product of Francisco de Colonia or one of his associates.

¹ Perhaps nothing speaks more eloquently of this inappreciation, persisting even until to-day, than the fact that the well-stocked Fine Arts section of the Ateneo Library in Madrid possesses but one book on the subject—a French treatise on French gardens. As to Don Santiago Rusiñol's beautiful portfolio *Jardines de España* it is made up of southern Moorish gardens and royal parks.

It stands in what to-day is a remote and forgotten corner of the province of Burgos but what used to be the important seat of the Señores de Peñaranda de Duero. Since the early sixteenth century when one of them, a Caballero of the Golden Fleece, Viceroy and Captain General of Navarre, Member of Council of State and War for Charles V, Majordomo of the Empress Doña Isabel, etc., etc.,¹ built his palace here nothing has changed, and one can easily form an idea of the surroundings which were then considered adequate for a lordly mansion. It stands on the bald stony plaza with neither approach nor treatment of any kind. It was clearly the only house of importance in the village, and its rich portal and windows are in marked contrast to the humble dwellings that elbow it familiarly on both sides. The two-storied façade is of imposing length, some 200 feet exclusive of an adjoining older portion; but except for the fine entrance and fenestration it is disappointingly crude—devoid of cornice and other moulds, and with its stone facing lacking all the quality of good masonry.

The portal (Plate XXI) is at once one of the most interesting and singular in Spain. From a photograph one might say that it was composed of Roman fragments, and the conjecture would not be far wrong for the Roman town of Clunia a few miles distant was still abundant in architectural treasures in the sixteenth century. Only a few were introduced here but these served to inspire the character of the rest of the detail. This classic influence accounted for, it will be seen that the remainder emanated from Francisco de Colonia or his disciples, but is much more skillfully treated than the Pellejería doorway of Burgos Cathedral. The lower half of the composition is severely plain, a post and lintel treatment of red marble very Castilian in its massive proportions. At

¹ He was brother to the bishop of Burgos with whom he joined forces in rebuilding in the Renaissance style the Monastery of La Vid a few stations east of Aranda on the Valladolid-Ariza railroad. Many of the family tombs are there, his with the inscription "Here lies the most illustrious Señor Don Francisco de Zúñiga y Avellaneda Conde de Miranda and Señor of the house of Avellaneda son of the most illustrious Señores the Conde Pedro de Zúñiga and the Condesa Catalina de Velasco died 1536." He was therefore related to the FONSECAS who built palaces in Salamanca, to the VELASCOS and MIRANDAS who built in Burgos, and to the MENDOZAS of the Palacio del Infantado at Guadalajara.



PORTAL OF THE PALACIO DE PEÑARANDA DE DUERO.
Attributed to Francisco de Colonia, ca. 1530.

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either side are sandstone pilasters with decorative panels of classic trophies designed in harmony with the Roman busts above. Of far greater interest is the upper half, for aside from its unique arrangement, the carved detail in the coffered



FIG. 36—Upper Cloister of the Patio at Peñaranda.

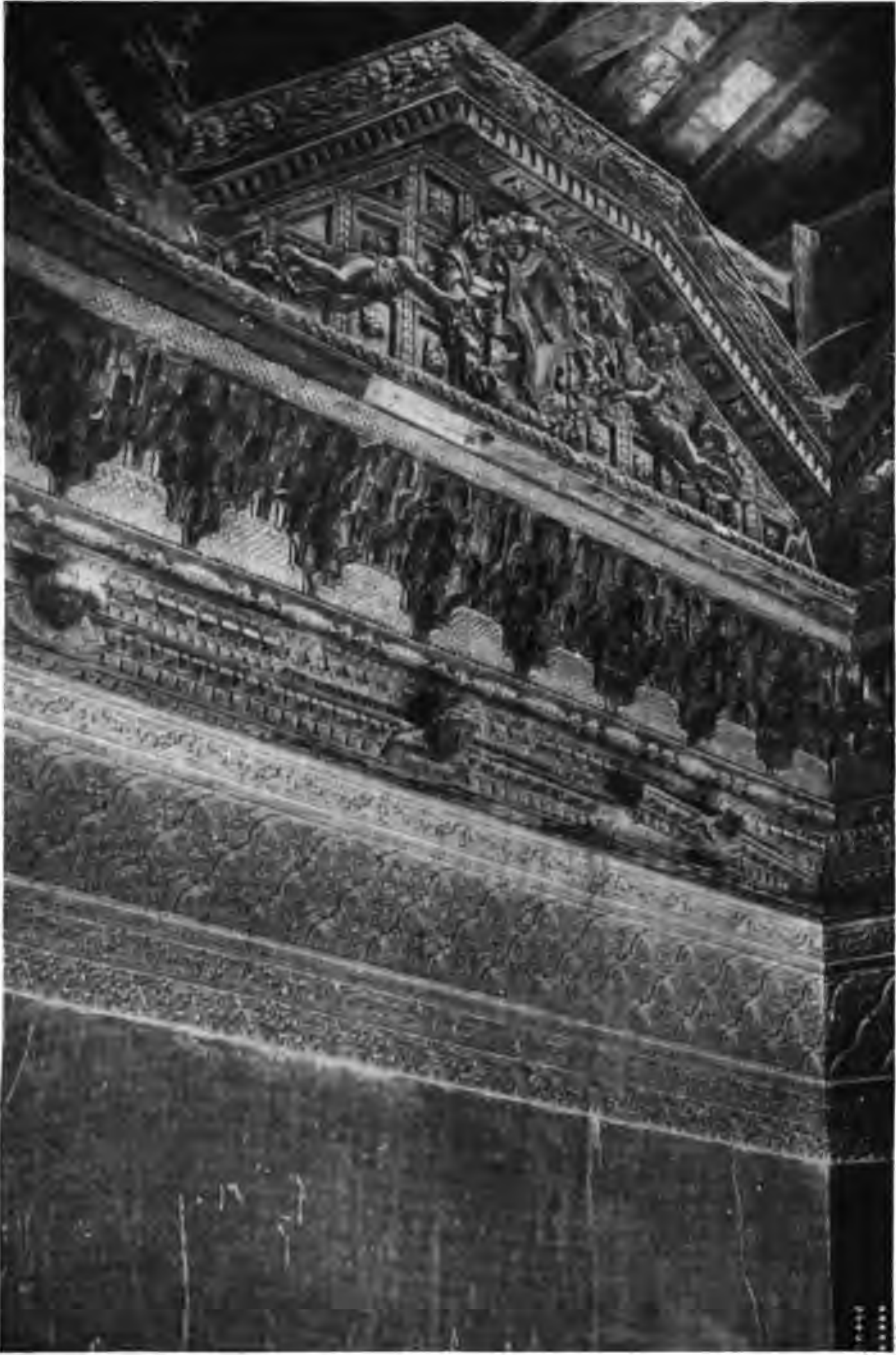
reveal of the arch, the heraldic motifs in the tympanum, and the over-arch cornice are very effective. The hand of Francisco is most noticeable in the spandrels, in the radial ornament of the main archivolt panel, and in the lunette at the top with its surrounding decoration—which last was irresistible to him. The windows are entirely his with their diminutive lunettes and their ornament bearing that peculiar plastic or stamped quality—the sign manual of the Colonia school. The difference between this façade and that of any Italian palace of similar importance is too striking to need comment; the one a systematized arrangement of laying out, a rhythmic succession of refined motifs; the other a bald façade of crude masonry relieved only by incoherent spots of rich ornamentation.

Entering the palace one meets a bare untreated vestibule with the usual stone benches where the higher nobility dismounted (those of lesser rank passed in on foot). Beyond and to the right may be seen the patio through a door as much



FIG. 37—Detail of Doorway of the Palace of Peñaranda.

off axis as if the Gothic necessity of impeding a hostile rush to the court still existed. The patio is 54 feet square in the open and is treated much more architecturally than the façade but the detail is rather perfunctory. No matter how severe a Spanish patio may be, the composition of the roofs with the lean-to of the upper cloister gallery finishing a few feet below the eaves of the main wall, always imparts a picturesqueness, which is the case here (Fig. 36). Two arches of the lower cloister open onto the once magnificent stairhall, now a sorry picture of neglect and decay. Of the stairway itself only the steps remain, the balustrade having long ago disappeared. The stairhall was once crowned by an unusually sumptuous artesonado of which much has fallen down but what is left is



DILAPIDATED ARTESONADO OVER THE STAIRWAY OF THE PALACIO DE
PEÑARANDA DE DUERO.

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sufficient to give a fair idea of the original (Plate XXII). It was carved in soft pine like all the ceilings of the palace and shows no trace of ever having been painted or gilded. The greater part of the design is in pure Renaissance, with motifs



FIG. 38—Doorway from Patio to Main Salon in the Palacio de Peñaranda de Duero.

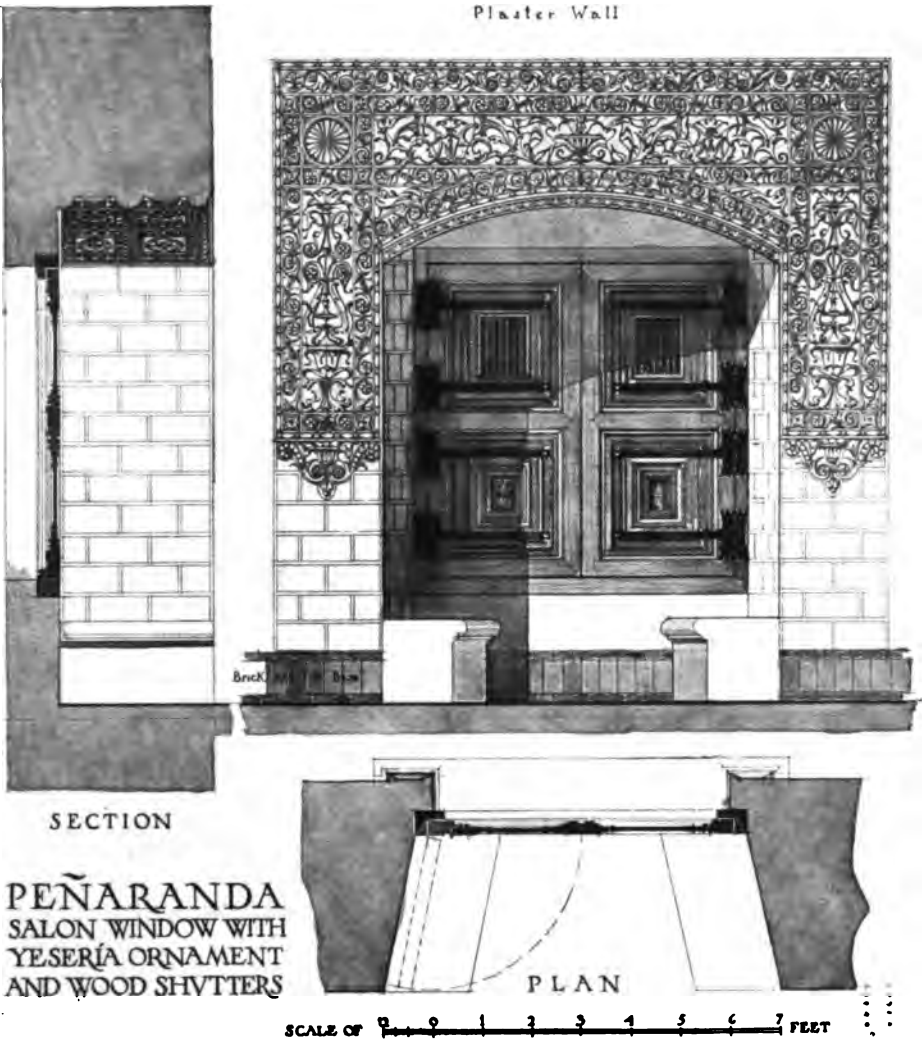
and detail which exhibit in their arrangement a thorough understanding of the decorative side of the new style. The chief feature of the carving is the panels of amorini with the ubiquitous family escutcheon. Not only for its ornamental value should this proud display of lineage be appreciated by the student of Spanish palaces but because, in the absence of records, it is often the only clue to identifying the founder. In this case where the family archivo was destroyed by fire and the inscription on the portal is half illegible, it is particu-

larly helpful. Immediately under the heraldic panels runs a band of Moorish stalactites, next a row of classic mouldings, and below this again a rich frieze of Arab interlacings in yesería, each of the three stages remarkable for the clear demarca-



FIG. 39—Wooden Artesonado and Yesería Doorway in the Main Salon at Peñaranda de Duero.

tion of style preserved. Apparently Moorish and Spanish artizans worked side by side. It is known that the Moriscos lingered in this inland province long after the first expulsion decree (1568) unable to get to the coast, and that as late as 1595 they built a ceiling in the Corpus Cristi Chapel in Burgos Cathedral. But while Moors were entrusted with



WINDOW WITH YESERÍA IN THE PALACIO DE PEÑARANDA DE DUERO.

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DILAPIDATED ARTESONADO IN A SMALL SALON OF THE PALACIO DE
PEÑARANDA DE DUERO.



the carpintería at Peñaranda, the heraldic panels in question and other Renaissance carvings were probably produced by Spaniards. One can hardly believe, however, that it was Francisco who furnished the design for this spirited work.

On the second or main story of the palace is a series of impressive salons opening from each other and not, as is usual, from the patio. The main salon (Fig. 39) is an imposing room 62 feet long and has a ceiling practically intact and which must be regarded as one of the finest achievements in woodwork of the period. Except for the treatment of the canted corners there is nothing Oriental about it, not even in the design of the subsidiary plaster frieze. It is curious that the Moors who had so little appreciation of the structurability of the dome were yet so enamored of its form that they were willing to go to no end of trouble to secure either a vaulted or a domical *techumbre*. Having obtained it, the corners or pendentives always remained a weak note but the wooden fabric permitted of cleverly concealing the fact by elaborate stalactite ornament. This problem became even more irksome for Renaissance workers, since the basic principle of their design demanded greater structurability; for years after the rest of the ceiling had been classicized the oriental corners remained a stumbling block; in the example under consideration they are the only unsatisfying note. It is to be regretted that the shell motif was not resorted to as a solution. The ceiling is arranged in three planes and hipped at the ends. Rows of coffered octagons with the traditional pendant in the intervening lozenge make up the body of the design. It is the frieze, part wood and part plaster, that is the chef d'œuvre of the whole (Fig. 40); the wood being vigorously carved in a theme of finely modeled figures separated by rinceau ornament, and the plaster, or secondary frieze, being an equally admirable piece of Renaissance ornamentation but at reduced scale. Plaster is again seen in the architectural framing of the doors and windows of the main salon. These openings including the handsome double door of carved wood surrounded by a rich band of patterned yesería that leads to the patio, and the three windows opening onto the plaza, similarly framed and

with unusually heavy shutters in lieu of glass, are among the finest examples of Mudéjar work in Spain (Plate XXIII). The shutters referred to are particularly good bits of carpentry, and the splendid wrought hardware on them is still intact in



FIG. 40—Wooden Frieze Supporting the Ceiling of the Main Salon in the Palace of Peñaranda de Duero.

spite of most of the shutters having long ago been wrenched from their hinges and left to rot on the floor under the snow drifts that pile up in the winter. The remaining features of the salon, two smaller doorways, a minstrel gallery, and a chimney-piece, are adorned entirely in yesteria typical of the Burgalese school—that is devoid of relief or variety, and inferior in every way to that previously mentioned. Considering how Mudéjar this palace is in certain respects, it is strange that azulejos are so sparingly employed. Excepting for a dado that runs around the entire piso principal including the patio, and the flooring of a small room near the stairs, probably an oratory, tiles were not used. The dado is only 17 inches high and is formed of upright plain red tiles bordered top and bottom by a narrow strip of blue and white patterned azulejos, the same in every room.

Left and right of the principal salon is a series of smaller rooms notable only for their artesonados, some Moorish as

in Plate XXIV, others Renaissance. All these are marvels of carpentry and make, along with the plainer rooms at the back of the patio, a veritable museum of ceilings. More the pity that all are fallen to pieces—pieces of convenient size for firewood. Certain Spaniards are still bitter over the removal from Zaragoza of the Casa Zaporta, some years ago, by a Frenchman; but no native seems willing to save this marvelous collection of artesonados. The last inheritor of the Peñaranda palace was the ex-empress of the French whose illustrious father lies in the church opposite. Her present tenant is a lumber merchant who has installed a saw-mill in the grand stair-hall and has filled the piso principal with sawed boards, until one dreads to think of the consequences of a stray spark hurried along by the gusts that tear through the gaping windows. Altogether a sadder picture of neglect and abuse would be hard to find even in Spain.

CHAPTER V

SALAMANCA

MANY RENAISSANCE BUILDINGS IN SALAMANCA—ANTIQUITY AND FAME OF SALAMANCA UNIVERSITY—THE CITY IN GOTHIC TIMES—RENAISSANCE EMBELLISHMENT OF THE MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY—ANALYSIS OF THE FAÇADE—THE ESCUELAS MENORES OR PREPARATORY SCHOOL—INTERIOR WORK IN THE UNIVERSITY—PALACES AND THEIR DIVISION INTO TWO GROUPS—NEAREST APPROACH TO THE ITALIAN IN THE PALACES BUILT BY THE FONSECA BISHOPS—DESCRIPTION OF THE CASA SALINA—THE CASA DE LAS MUERTES—THE MALDONADO HOUSES OPPOSITE THE CHURCH OF SAN BENITO—THE PALACIO MONTEREY LARGEST IN SALAMANCA—SEVERAL SMALL EXAMPLES—THE DOMINICAN CHURCH OF SAN ESTÉBAN — ARCHBISHOP FONSECA'S COLEGIO DE SANTIAGO APÓSTOL, NOW COLEGIO DE LOS IRLANDESES—PEDRO DE IBARRA—ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE BY BERRUGUETE AND HIS SCHOOL IN SALAMANCA

CHAPTER V

SALAMANCA

SALAMANCA, in the southern part of the ancient kingdom of León, is the most Renaissance city in Spain. To explain its sixteenth century building activity it might almost suffice to state that the FONSECAS lived there; but the city's civil importance also accounts for much. From the beginning of the thirteenth century it held a celebrated seat of learning which soon ranked by papal decree as one of the "four lamps of the world" and to which during the era under discussion more than seven thousand students were flocking from all parts of the civilized globe. Salamanca had always been a city of patrician families but these by their private feuds and political factions (in which the students took a lively part) had kept it in a constant state of upheaval until the strong rule of Ferdinand and Isabella destroyed feudalism and established orderly government. The changes through which Salamantine society passed may be read in the architecture of the city; houses of the fourteenth century had thick walls, high windows, and strong towers; those of the fifteenth lost their warlike aspect and began to indulge in the amenities of art. The sixteenth opened tranquilly with great building projects afoot—a new cathedral, the expansion of the university, and many new palaces. It was in the erection of these last that the Fonseca prelates were the leaders. Of the cathedral there is little to be said not only because, being Gothic, its style is out of our period but because the famous *junta* of architects who decided on its site placed it where it both hid and disfigured its magnificent Romanesque predecessor; the secular work mentioned was all in Plateresque. Much

of it was destroyed during the War of Liberation when the French converted the city into a fortified place and pulled down a large area; but enough remains to make Salamanca the classic site of Castile.

As far back as 1480, Ferdinand and Isabella had decided that the poor plain buildings which housed the University of Salamanca were unworthy of its international fame. These had been erected in the time of the antipope Benedict XIII (Don Pedro de Luna of Zaragoza), and those concerned were too occupied with the great schism and the Councils of Constance and Basel to pay attention to collegiate architecture. Many recitation rooms were dark and damp, yet the order of the Catholic Sovereigns did not consider a newer and better type of building, but merely the embellishment of the one already standing. Exteriorly only the main entrance of the university proper and the façade of the Escuelas Menores or lower school ever reached completion. The authors have never been discovered nor the exact date when the work was commenced, but there is a sophistication about it that could hardly have been achieved earlier than 1525 or 1530. Several Spanish writers have suggested that it was designed by Enrique de Egas because as visiting architect to the cathedral, he came to Salamanca in 1522, 1529, and again in 1534; but the whole scheme shows so much intimacy with the Italian and at the same time is so distinctly local that it is more probably the product of some unknown Salamantine master. It is recorded that Italians were working in the city before the end of the fifteenth century and it is perfectly conceivable that these and their Spanish successors, encouraged by the Fonsecas, would have developed a local school which owed nothing to Egas. A point of superiority in the Salamanca buildings is the perfect stereotomy and structural details often sadly lacking in Enrique's work.

The embellishment of the university, the most brilliant piece of Plateresque in the land, does not embrace the entire façade but merely features the main entrance (Fig. 41). Adhering to local traditions it retains certain Gothic reminiscences in composition and detail, but exhibits a consummate



DETAIL FROM THE FAÇADE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.
Ca. 1530. Architect Unknown.





PORTAL OF THE ESCUELAS MENORES, SALAMANCA.

Ca. 1535. Architect Unknown.

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appreciation of Renaissance in its exquisite ornamental quality. Something of the same delicacy may be seen in the church of La Madonna dei Miracoli in Brescia but the Spanish example is unquestionably superior in its feeling of exterior



FIG. 41—Façade of the University of Salamanca.

✓ Ca. 1530. Architect Unknown.

appropriateness. The scale of the ornament varies from extreme minuteness in the lower panels to considerable boldness in the uppermost, but in these last the architect may be justly criticized for having carried his theory of perspective a little too far. The whole panel as it rises above the twin arches is a remarkable array of pure Italian foliated ornament but en-

livened by portrait medallions and the heraldic devices so specially requisite in this locality (see Plate XXV). The main blazon is that of Ferdinand and Isabella but the double-headed eagle of Charles is also present to prove that the new front



FIG. 42—Detail from the Portal of the Escuelas Menores, Salamanca.
Ca. 1535. Architect Unknown.

was in progress during his reign. In the uppermost division is a relief of the pope dispensing privileges which commemorates the fact that Salamanca University was under pontifical as well as royal protection. The cresting that surmounts the panel is a Gothic remnant highly developed hereabouts and retained throughout the century. The Salamanca stone used, whitish when quarried but soon taking on a wonderful burnished tone, was particularly suited to this sort of carving and might be aged terra cotta, so delicate is it to the eye. Taken as a whole this last addition to the façade will always be considered as the gem of the Plateresque style and one of the finest decorative achievements of the epoch in Europe.

Less distinguished but harmonizing with the above is the small façade to the grammar school or Colegio de Estudios Menores (Plate XXVI). This is close by at the other end of the quiet little plaza that holds the statue of the great scholar and poet Fray Luis de León—an altogether unique spot which seems to be enveloped in the mellow glow of the yellow sandstone that walls it in. The scheme of the Escuelas Menores is also a decorative panel surmounting a twin arch, but here the treatment of the arch is later as might be expected from the fact that only Charles V's escutcheon is used. The work might, indeed, have been completed as late as 1535. In general there is much less nicety of workmanship but charming detail is not lacking. In the archivolt are the amorini heads so persistently used in the same way by the Fonseca architect and perhaps indicating in the present instance that the primate Alfonso, a graduate of the university, was interested in furthering the work. Certain it is that after his death in 1534, the embellishment of the buildings flagged. Visitors are generally curious about the red lettering seen here and on several private houses around the plaza; it refers to illustrious students. Names were invariably preceded by the Latin *victor* in monogram and though applied surreptitiously they were by no means daubed on but gracefully lettered.

We now come to the interior of the university. The order for ornamenting this ancient seat of learning was a big one and both funds and enthusiasm gave out before much had been accomplished. Inside, therefore, there is little more to enumerate than the staircase, the library, and the rebuilding of the patio. The impressive stairhall, a fine piece of Gothic, contains a handsome stair ramp in which touches of the new style appear (Plate XXVII). Salaman-tine architects were slow to relinquish the ramp in favor of the Italian baluster rail, as a much later example in the Palacio de San Boal testifies. On the one in question the theme of the carving is a fifteenth-century bull-fight quaintly conventionalized. The knights and ladies depicted are very Gothic but this medievalism is accompanied by mouldings and orna-

mental motifs in the new style. The continuity of the scene is hardly interrupted by the landing for the problem of the ramp at the corners is admirably solved. The patio is an uninspired piece of work but the covered gallery of each story



FIG. 43—Decorated Wooden Ceiling in the Patio of the University, Salamanca.

has an interesting though incomplete ceiling, the lower of which is illustrated in Fig. 43. It is very simple carpentry but made effective by color decoration; the upper is more typical with Moorish coffers set into Renaissance frames. The library, remodeled in the eighteenth century, preserves only its handsome Plateresque *reja*; but it is still rich in literary treasures in spite of Philip II's having burned thousands of volumes that smacked of the Reformation and other heresies. Other fragments deserving of attention may be found throughout the university group but nothing to compete with the subtle affiliation of medievalism and Renaissance in the main façade.

As has been said Gothic Salamanca contained many powerful and noble families and these made the escutcheon the chief outer adornment of their *solar*. Passing through



STAIR RAMP IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SALAMANCA.
Early Sixteenth Century. Architect Unknown.

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the streets to-day one may read how the first thought of every proprietor was pride of race. The *sangre limpia* back of all this heraldry meant too much to permit of relinquishing the outward and visible sign, so the Renaissance architect had to turn the escutcheon to decorative account in his work. Thus though hardly an architect's name is known, it is still possible to identify his client by the coat of arms. Broadly speaking palaces may be thrown into two groups, one of horizontal composition, the other of vertical; both retain certain traditional forms, sometimes the round arched entrance with massive voussoirs, sometimes the perforated cresting, and always few but highly interesting windows. In the first group (and all unhappily renovated) are the Palacio de San Boal, the Casa Garci-Grande, the Palacio de los Maldonados de Amatos, and many others less typical; in the second and fortunately better preserved are the Casa de las Muertes, the Casa de la Salina, and the Casa Maldonados y Morillo. In addition to these two classes are certain earlier houses to which Plateresque forms were added, such as the Palacio Abarca Maldonado in the Plaza de Fray Luis de León with its two very charming windows, and the remarkable Casa de las Conchas or House of the Shells with an exceedingly rich patio, part Gothic and part Renaissance, and a cresting in which appears the fleur-de-lis of the Maldonados, whose descendants still occupy the house. It was in the small vertical composition, an exigency of shrinking city sites, that the Salamanca architect expressed his greatest appreciation of the Italian style; but even in these one must be reminded that the science of Renaissance planning was entirely neglected.

Going back to houses of horizontal composition an important example but one that might easily be overlooked is the inconspicuous San Boal in the little plaza of the same name. It is much mutilated as to façade but a good patio and stairway still survive. The patio is two stories high with segmental arches in the second—an agreeable change from the all too popular elliptical. Fine portrait medallions fill the spandrels of the first story arches. In the stairhall, over which is a good beamed ceiling, there is a solid stair

parapet (Fig. 44) but its rinceau decoration is less attractive than the university example. Later than this palace is the Maldonados de Amatos, now the Casino. Although barbarously reformed, especially inside, its main entrance and



FIG. 44—Stair Newel from the Palacio de San Boal, Salamanca.

upper story windows are intact, these last being fair specimens of the typical Salamantine window of the century. In the historic Plazuela de Santo Tomé (which was the Plaza Mayor until the present handsome Churriguerresque plaza was built) stands the palace of the Garci-Grande family. It is now a bank. There is no early Plateresque about it but it has a good late entrance and two corner windows with angle arches above—a fenestral variation quite common down the west side of Spain.

Salamanca's nearest approach to the Italian is in the shape

of the palaces erected by the two Fonseca bishops. The first to be identified with the city was Don Alfonso, successively bishop of Avila, Santiago, and Seville, and patriarch (self-proclaimed) of Alexandria "the which was held in all the kingdom as a proceeding very arbitrary and a bad example." Born at Toro, not far north, Don Alfonso was related to many illustrious Salamanca families and accompanied the Catholic Sovereigns there in the late fifteenth century. His son Alfonso, sometimes distinguished from his father by the addition of his mother's name, Ulloa, reached even higher dignities and became the archbishop of Toledo already mentioned in connection with Alcalá. He was born in Santiago, Doña Maria de Ulloa's home, where he founded the Colegio de Fonseca; but the city for which he had the greatest predilection was Salamanca. Here, according to an old chronicle, "the magnanimous archbishop liberated the city from certain taxes in gratitude for which the populace on appointed days of the year went in procession to his chapel and held a bull-fight in the patio, there killing two *novillos* (young bulls)." The chapel and patio referred to are undoubtedly those of the Colegio del Arzobispo which he added to the university group.

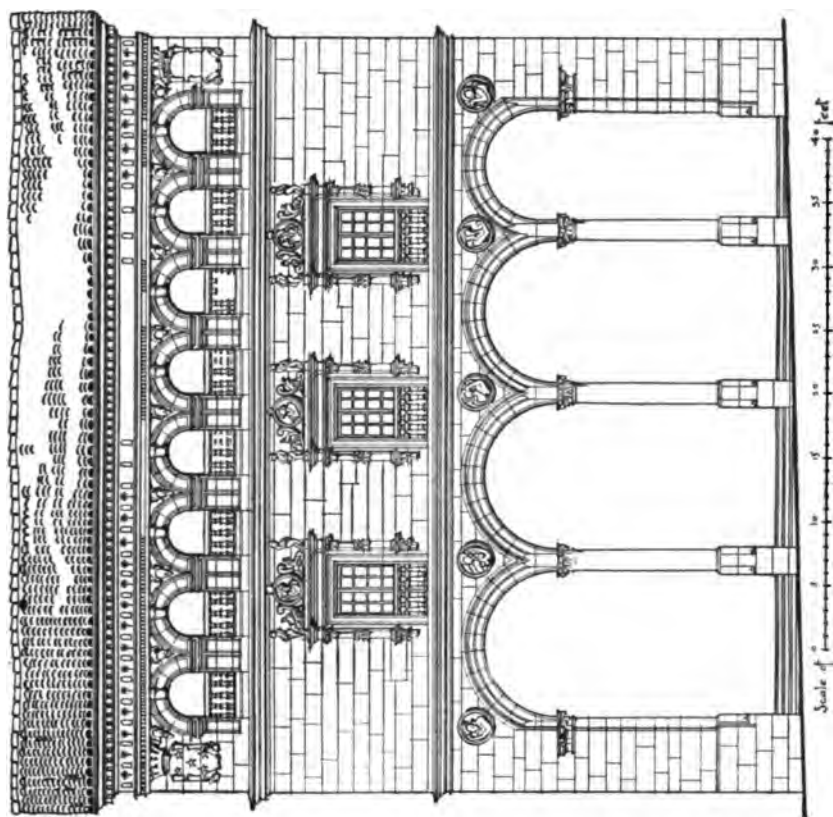
There is much confusion as to which palaces father and son were respectively responsible for. To the former are usually accredited the Casa de la Salina and the Casa de las Muertes. According to popular tradition he erected the former for his mistress Doña Maria de Ulloa of Santiago whom the shocked nobility refused to receive in their houses when she accompanied him and the court to Salamanca; but the prelate died in 1512, and although the lower story arches with their Gothiclike archivolts may be prior to that date, La Salina as a whole bears the impress of 1535 or 1540. In the case of Las Muertes, where his bust appears on the façade, the English architect Andrew Prentice accepts him as founder but hazards the date 1520. Prentice would not have been far amiss to have advanced it another ten years. As to the patriarch's portrait it may indicate that the son erected the house in memory of his father; then there is another account which says it was built by the grateful Ursulines, whose nearby convent he built.

The Salina, so called by the populace because it was once used as a warehouse for salt, has suffered much inside from repeated injudicious alterations. The façade (Plate XXVIII) presents a number of interesting discrepancies which are not appreciated at first glance from the narrow *calle*. The intercolumniation, for instance, varies from 11 feet in the south bay to 8 feet in the north. This savors more of Gothic capriciousness than Renaissance system; yet by subtle adjustment of the units in the story above the feeling of symmetry is restored. Between exterior expression and interior arrangement one meets another liberty, for the arcade which appears to be a third story is in reality embraced in the lofty second-story salon. Notwithstanding, the façade has considerable dignity and is the only example in Salamanca employing the first-story Italian loggia. All above the loggia is of local treatment, particularly the principal windows flanked by colonnettes and with portrait medallions above. At each end of the upper gallery is the blazon of the Fonsecas, five stars under a crown; and in the spandrels of the arcade are the winged amorini heads which almost invariably accompany it. Of the interior, the best preserved feature is the patio, reached by a short flight of steps from the loggia. It is irregularly shaped with an amusing upper wooden gallery supported on huge stone corbels (*zapatas*). These have never needed restoration and, like the loggia, bring to mind similar features in northern Italy. Their sides are decoratively paneled into flat squares and the fronts are carved into squirming grotesques (Fig. 45) which, according to current story, represent the Salamantine aristocrats who denied hospitality to Doña Maria and whom Fonseca, in his revenge, thus placed under her feet.

In the narrow Calle de Bordadores stands the diminutive and charming house now known by the sinister name of Casa de las Muertes (Plate XXIX). Although fragments of the ornament are very Italian the whole is distinctly Salamantine Plateresque. Strikingly local are the abundant encircled bas-reliefs, and a doorway with ornamental lintel resting on foliated capitals (whose use and character are, in this case,



CASA SALINA, SALAMANCA, BEFORE RECENT RESTORATION.



ELEVATION OF THE SAME RESTORED.

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more Romanesque than Renaissance). The façade is barely 30 feet wide. The rich central motif of the piso principal is the nucleus of its treatment, and so dominates the narrow front that the unsymmetrical fenestration is in no way dis-



FIG. 45—Corbels in the Patio of the Casa de la Salina, Salamanca.

turbing. There is a wealth of beautiful Plateresque ornament in this feature (see Fig. 46); every quality of the silversmith's art may be detected in the decorative framing of "El severísimo Fonseca, Patriarca Alejandrina." But with all its merits the house has the defect common to Salamantine Plateresque, an inadequate cornice. This is merely a crude sectional profile of the preceding century ornamented in the new style. Inside the house there is nothing of interest, its small size precluding the patio plan. Owing to its lugubrious name it has long stood untenanted but fortunately its artistic

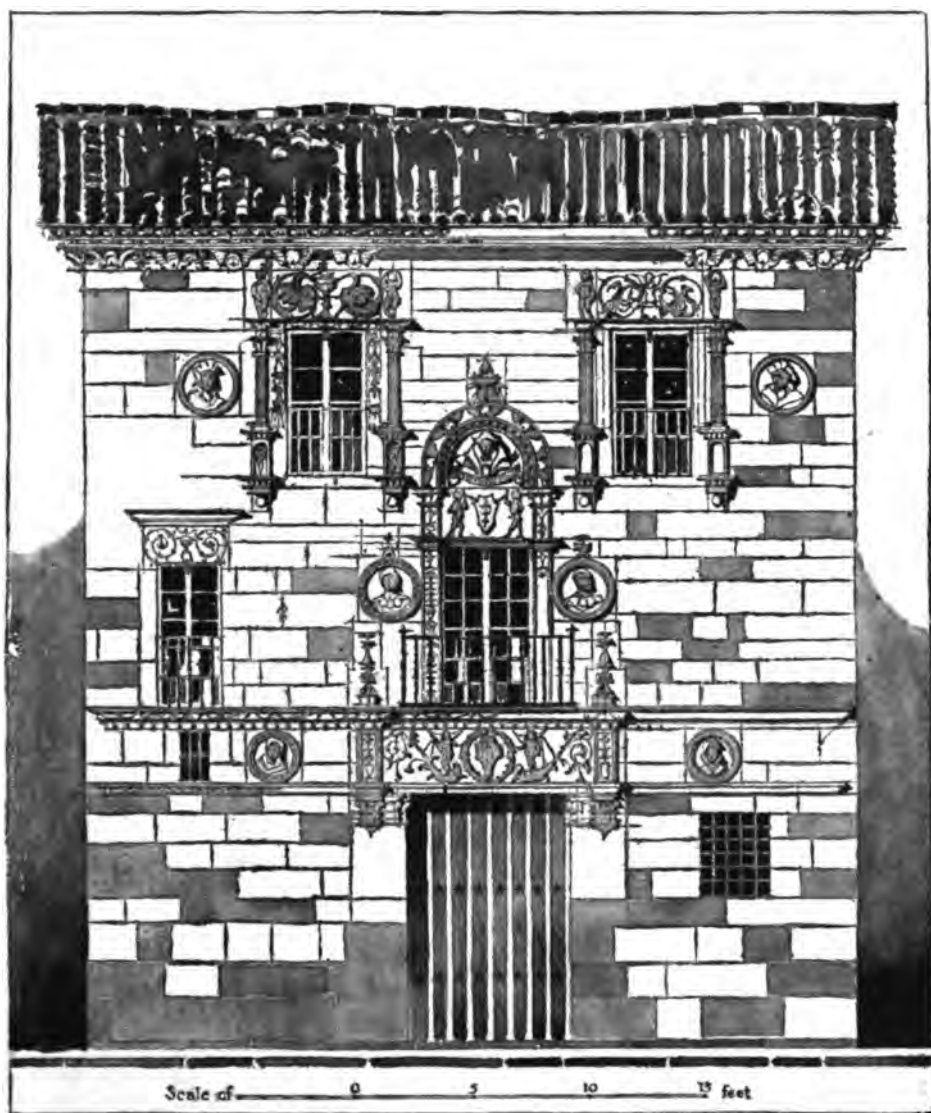
value is fully appreciated in the town and this may protect it for many years to come.

One of the greatest names in Salamanca annals is that of the Maldonados, whose various branches enriched the city



FIG. 46—Motif from the Façade of the Casa de las Muertes, Salamanca.

by some half-dozen sixteenth-century houses. Opposite the old church of San Benito stands the *solar* of the Maldonados y Morillos (Plate XXX), but on its façade the escutcheon of the FONSECAS is even more prominently placed than that of the two families mentioned. The explanation is furnished by the sepulchral inscription in the church across the way which says that Diego Maldonado was “Camarero del ilustrísimo señor Don Alfonso de Fonseca, Arzobispo de Toledo.” Only the central motif now surrounded by stucco was architecturally treated. It is but 14 feet wide and embraces nothing more



ELEVATION OF THE CASA DE LAS MUERTES, SALAMANCA.

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PALACIO DE LOS MALDONADOS Y MORILLOS, SALAMANCA.

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than a door, a window, and the blazons of the three families, all beautifully composed. Of these the Fonseca shield is so thoroughly Italian in design and execution that it might have been brought bodily from the Library of Siena. It was probably the work of an Italian in Salamanca and as such invites comparison with other escutcheons carved by Spaniards. [To be graceful, sensuous, and full of repose was the Italian aim; to be forceful almost to the point of distortion was the Spanish, and this essential difference may be found in even the smallest carved motif. The more placid type of ornament can be and has been reproduced in every land, but any present-day attempt to catch the violent Spanish fails even here on its own soil.]

Adjoining the house just described is the Casa Solis in which the Maldonado quarterings appear along with those of the Solis, Zúñiga, and Abarca clans. The Fonseca escutcheon is absent which may account for this example being less Renaissance. Indeed nothing but the mouldings lift the main entrance out of the medieval. Under the eaves extends a perforated screen with intermediate piers having the form of truncated columns, which led Prentice to believe that the original intention was to create an open loggia at the top. Close inspection of the stereotomy, however, proves that each pier was cut to include the adjacent perforation. There is no clue to the date of this little palace but it is undoubtedly one of the earliest of the century. The interior has been so completely remodeled that it is impossible to discover the original plan.

The largest and latest palace in Salamanca is the Monterey (Fig. 47) which, vast though it is, represents less than half of the primary scheme. Even this sumptuous edifice was neglected by the chroniclers and there is the usual dispute as to the founder. "Surely" concludes the *catedrático* Don Angel Apraiz who has spent much time in investigating the matter, "it belonged to the family of the Fonseca archbishops united with the Counts of Monterey through the marriage of Don Diego de Acebedo, a son of the Patriarch of Alexandria, with the Countess Francisca de Zúñiga." The escutcheons

corroborate such an attribution. The builder was probably Don Gaspar de Acebedo y Zúñiga, Count of Monterey and Viceroy of Mexico, and "from its magnificence may be judged the wealth brought back by those who ruled in early America



FIG. 47—Corner Tower of the Palacio de Monterey, Salamanca.

in the king's name," as a wise old writer significantly remarks. Prentice suggests Covarrubias as the architect, assuming from the presence of the Fonseca shield that the house was built for the archbishop. Conflicting dates, aside from the character of the work, make this improbable. In the absence of one intact façade by Covarrubias any comparison between his known work and the Monterey must be confined to details, and none of these bespeak his refined taste. The Monterey ornament is conceived in an entirely different spirit from the Alcalá—none the less Spanish but with a strong appeal to the

popular element. So well did it succeed in this respect that the palace has been the model for every World's Fair building that Spain has ever had occasion to erect. As to plan the palace was to face on four streets, to enclose a large quadrangle,



FIG. 48—Colegio de San Ildefonso, Salamanca.

and to have four corner towers and an additional one in the center of each long side. Only one long side was built. Besides its towers, the most notable features of the exterior are the chimneys and the cresting. This latter, with well modeled figures strangely distorted, is very Spanish; and the former, rarely featured on even the most monumental Spanish buildings, are here so prominent in the silhouette that they recall the highly architecturalized chimneys of the Henri II period in France. This house has now passed by descent to the Alba family, who also own the palace at Peñaranda de Bracamonte, some twenty-five miles east of Salamanca.

In addition to the preceding are a few simpler examples that repay searching out; among these are the old Lonja and a house with the Pizarra escutcheon in the little Plazuela del Peso; the Colegio de San Ildefonso (Fig. 48) on the Plaza de

Santo Tomás; and the amusing little house adjoining the university and built, as the escutcheon indicates, by that body.

Salamanca contains, besides its palaces, two highly developed sixteenth-century structures of prime importance, one the convent-church of San Estéban and the other the Colegio de Santiago Apóstol, added to his alma mater by Don Alfonso de Fonseca y Ulloa. This was popularly known as the Colegio del Arzobispo until it was given over to Irish priests, who first came to study in Salamanca in the time of Philip II. Hence its designation as El Colegio de los Nobles Irlandeses. It is pleasant to record that the "Irish nobles" appreciate their lordly home and reclaim it as means permit. Both this and the convent-church were begun about 1525 but records pertaining to the latter are much more complete, as is usually the case with ecclesiastic structures. It was built for the Dominicans by the architect Juan de Alava, that is, John of Vitoria in the province of Alava, who had worked with the Ontañons on Salamanca's Gothic Cathedral and was next engaged on the Plateresque façade of Plasencia's. St. Stephen's, although nominally finished in 1610, was still building in the late seventeenth century so that successive architects may have altered Alava's plans; yet the façade (Plate XXXI), even granted that the figure of the martyr and other bits were carved long after, appears to be one conception. It is an ambitious piece of work embodying a vast amount of stone carving, all excellent and varied in character. The canopies over the saints on each side of the portal have more the quality of beaten metal than of the less obedient stone as may be seen in Fig. 49; while the ornament on the tall pilasters each side of the central motif is bold and free. Unfortunately this whole feature is overpowering in scale and crushes the beauty of the detail. There is a peculiar use of the pendant in the coffered arch which gives the effect of a Moorish artesonado; but this and other details admirable in themselves contribute to the restlessness of the ensemble.

As to the Colegio del Arzobispo much dispute reigns concerning its unknown architect. Llaguno ascribes the entire



WEST FRONT OF SAN ESTÉBAN, SALAMANCA.
Juan de Alava, Architect, 1524-1610.

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building, Gothic chapel and all, to Alonso de Covarrubias; others credit him with only the façade, and this happens to be devoid of all interest. A modern and painstaking investigator, Don Manuel Gómez Moreno, asserts that we can gather enough from the testament of Archbishop Fonseca to confirm that the Granada style which we see in Fonseca's colleges in both Salamanca and Santiago is due to Diego de Siloe. The authors have not examined the will in question but even one who holds documentary evidence in positive awe would be hard put to find any trace of Siloe or his school in the Irlandeses. The scheme of the building is the traditional Spanish that had been going on unvaried for centuries; and the detail, the chief thing by which Spanish architects are recognized, is strikingly Castilian. That is, the sculpture is known to be at least in part by Beruguete, and is therefore very distinct from the Granadine school. Returning to Covarrubias it must be remembered that, owing to his prominent position both in Toledo Cathedral and as master of the royal works, he may have been called on to furnish many more plans than he himself executed. These would then be passed over to contractors, who were often architects and who secured the best local talent to interpret them. Hence, if he did design the Fonseca College, it is not surprising to learn from the records that one Pedro Ibarra, who had studied in Italy, built



FIG. 49—Detail from the Portal of San Estéban, Salamanca.

Juan de Alava, Architect, 1524-1610.

the stately patio illustrated in Plate XXXII. Some say that he worked from his own plans, others, that they were drawn by Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón, and still others give the credit to Covarrubias. The candelabra motifs crowning the second



FIG. 50—Upper Cloister of the Colegio de los Irlandeses, Salamanca.
Attributed to Pedro Ibarra.

story piers certainly resemble those above the balustrade on Ontañón's university façade at Alcalá, while of Covarrubias's Alcalá patio there is no reminder save the inimitable carving by Berruguete. Had the Alcalá staircase been repeated here it would have gone far to settle the question; but instead there are two, one on each side, well placed, but with their treatment utterly lacking in sentiment. They have every appear-



PATIO OF THE COLEGIO DE LOS IRLANDESES, SALAMANCA.

Attributed to Pedro Ibarra.

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ance of the seventeenth century. That the building of the patio and stairway suffered many interruptions there can be no doubt. We know that it was begun about 1530 and that Ibarra did not appear upon the scene until after 1550, when



FIG. 51—Patio of the Convento de las Dueñas, Salamanca.

he had completed a large chapel in the church of the Military Order of Alcántara in the border town of that name. Of the two stories that compose the Fonseca patio the lower and more formal exhibits a rare proficiency in the application of the classic orders and refutes at first glance Llaguno's statement that it is the product of a sculptor rather than an architect. The upper story (Fig. 50) is a freer interpretation of the style and therefore more Spanish. Getting down to essentials and discarding rumors, the Irlandeses, with the exception of the patio, might have been built by any good Salamantine builder; and the patio was probably designed by Covarrubias, carried out by Ibarra, and superintended more or less by Ontañón who came on visits to the cathedral

where he was assisting his father. In these circumstances different hands are naturally discernible but the Spanish character of the work is so paramount that a certain homogeneity is the result. It is something to be thankful for that, although



FIG. 52—Patio of the Castillo de Villanueva de Cañeda near Salamanca.

the structure stood directly in the line of fire between English and French batteries in 1812, only the graceful pinnacles of the patio suffered.

To identify the sculptor Berruguete is a comparatively easy and always a grateful task. The capitals and medallion portraits here are too beautiful to be by less expert hands. Salamanca is a veritable museum of the master's architectural ornament. This served apparently as model for a group of

local sculptors who caught much of his passion for heads, and his distribution of decorative elements, but not his extraordinary skill of execution. If all the expressive and well modeled heads in the city—in the patios of the Irlandeses and the convent of Las Dueñas (Fig. 51), the façades of the schools and of many private houses, the portal of the Espíritu Santo—if all these examples of Berruguete and his school were photographed they would make a marvelous gallery of sixteenth century Spanish portraits invaluable for the study of the race as well as for the study of their art. Apropos of what the sculptor did for the Spanish palace M. Marcel Dieulafoy says the following in his *Statuaire Polychrome en Espagne*: “And finally there is a lost domain of art in which Spain showed herself a sovereign mistress. I refer to her civil architecture. I shall assemble some day the houses and palaces whose stones the ornamentalists have embroidered with a distinction, a delicacy, and a technical skill never surpassed; but at present I will merely cite as perfect models for sculptors the decorative carving spread over the façades and interiors of aristocratic dwellings.”

CHAPTER VI

ISOLATED WORK IN CASTILE AND ESTREMADURA

AVILA AND THE TOMB BY DOMENICO FANCELLI—FANCELLI'S DISCIPLE VASCO DE LA ZARZA AND HIS MONUMENTS IN THE CATHEDRAL—ZARZA'S EXTRAORDINARY FACILITY IN THE SMALL MARBLE CUSTODIA—THE MONUMENT IN THE SACRISTY BY BERRUGUETE OR A PUPIL—GRANITE PALACES OF AVILA—SEGOVIA AND ITS PALACES—SGRAFFITO TREATMENT—VALADOLID AND ITS SCARCITY OF RENAISSANCE—THE COLEGIO DE SAN GREGORIO—THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM IN THE COLEGIO DE LA SANTA CRUZ AND THE REMARKABLE SCULPTURE IT HOLDS—SHORT HISTORY OF WOODEN POLYCHROME SCULPTURE IN SPAIN—THE PROCESS OF ESTOFADO—ALONSO DE BERRUGUETE, TRAINED IN ITALY, RENOUNCING MARBLE AND RETURNING TO WOOD AND COLOR—HIS STALLS IN TOLEDO CATHEDRAL—THE RETABLO FOR SAN BENITO—HIS PUPILS AND FOLLOWERS—ESTREMADURA AND THE CATHEDRAL OF PLASENCIA—LOCAL TYPE OF HOUSE BUILT FOR THE CONQUISTADORES IN ZAFRA, TRUJILLO, AND CÁCERES—LEÓN AND THE WORK OF JUAN DE BADAJOZ—THE FAÇADE OF SAN MARCOS—THE GUZMAN PALACE—THE CLOISTER OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN ZOIL IN THE TOWN OF CARRIÓN DE LOS CONDES—BITS OF RENAISSANCE IN WIDELY SCATTERED TOWNS OF OLD AND NEW CASTILE

CHAPTER VI

ISOLATED WORK IN CASTILE AND ESTREMADURA

THE walled town of Avila is of a complete and undisturbed medievalism that is not surpassed even in medieval Spain; nevertheless Renaissance penetrated and endowed it with a rare collection of sculptural monuments. In architecture the movement found no great expression for Avila had ceased to be prosperous in the sixteenth century and only the church was in a position to patronize the new style. Here it was that the gifted Domenico Fancelli left his masterpiece—the tomb of Prince John (Plate XXXIII) in the Dominican convent-church of Santo Tomás. The advent of this, one of the most beautiful tombs in Europe, left a profound influence on the little town; Avila became a center of Castilian sculpture. Fancelli's chief follower was Vasco de la Zarza who kept a group of sculptors busy in the cathedral for many years. The Renaissance work there consists of the *trascoro*, the altars in the transept, and the very remarkable monument in the ambulatory to Bishop Alfonso de Madrigal, *El Tostado*. This last was long attributed to the better known Italian and by some to Inocencio Berruguete, but the indefatigable Don Manuel Gómez Moreno has clarified the authorship and has, besides, discovered Zarza's signature in the arabesques on the splendid tomb of Bishop Alonso Carrillo de Albornoz in Toledo Cathedral.

The Italian who brought the Renaissance to Avila was recorded by Ceán Bermudez as Micer Domenico Alejandro Florentin, his family name Fancelli not being known until the publication in 1871 of data collected in Carrara by Canon Pietro Andrei "On Domenico Fancelli the Florentine and

Bartolommeo Ordognes the Spaniard."¹ Domenico received the commission from Don Juan Velasquez Dávila who had promised the dying queen that her only son, buried some years before in Avila, should have a worthy monument. Presuma-



FIG. 53—Panel from the Trascoro, Cathedral of Avila.

bly Dávila undertook this at his own cost. The work was placed in 1512 and met with such approval that it secured another royal order, the monument for the prince's parents which was placed in Granada, in 1517. The next year Fancelli died immediately after submitting designs to the executors of Cardinal Cisneros, as mentioned in Chapter II.

At this early period the Spanish preference was still for

¹ "Sopra Domenico Fancelli Fiorentino e Bartolommeo Ordognes Spagnuolo e sopra altri artisti loro contemporanei che nel principio del secolo decimosesto cultivarono e propagarono in Spagna le arti belle italiane. Memorie estratte da documenti inediti per cura del canonico Pietro Andrei, Massa, 1871."



TOMB OF THE INFANTE DON JUAN IN THE CONVENT CHURCH OF SANTO TOMÁS, AVILA.
Domenico Fancelli, Sculptor, 1512

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free-standing as opposed to wall tombs, and Fancelli's were of that type. All three are discernible as the conception of one man, but in the first, the Avila, he attained a sublimity which he just missed in the second and third. The figure of the young prince, in no way a portrait, is at the same time a sensitive interpretation of both youth and death. It lies on a spacious sarcophagus so literally Plateresque that it is more like *orfèvrerie* than chiseled stone. Its flat and decorative sculpture is Italian rather than Spanish, and yet unlike typical Italian in that it is not primarily architectonic. Whatever mouldings it does employ, however, are very beautiful both in profile and decoration. (It may be said at once that only one Spanish sculptor, Fancelli's disciple Zarza, ever realized to the same extent what a valuable accessory a finely moulded band could be.) The ensemble is the same as at Granada and Alcalá—sarcophagus with a series of scriptural figures in flat niches on each side and accentuated at the corners by griffins or figures. In one end of the Avila example is a medallion relief of San Domingo and in the opposite end a little inscription tablet, this incomparably Italian in form and lettering. In the same church is another tomb sometimes ascribed to Domenico though little about it bears out such attribution. Partly Gothic it is inferior in every way yet interesting as a precursor. It is dated 1504 and was erected to the guardians of the prince, Juan Dávila and Juana de Velasquez his wife, parents of the nobleman who undertook to provide the youth's resting place with a suitable memorial.

Plate XXXIV shows the bishop's tomb by Zarza which is at the back of the capilla mayor in the cathedral. Of rich marble beautifully worked it seems to suffer a little in the embrace of the coarse bald granite of the church interior. The composition is somewhat erratic but the defects are more than offset by the exquisite detail, of conventional Italian and exuberant Spanish curiously combined. The monument is divided into three stages—base or sarcophagus proper with paneled niches, a second stage with the seated figure of the bishop, and an upper portion quite separate from the lower ones as to arrangement, and made up of a relief of the Infant Christ.

The choicest part is the central with the learned bishop's effigy, probably one of the finest bits executed in the Italian style by any Spanish artist. Behind the seated figure and cleverly inserted so as to form part of the arch is a beautiful



FIG. 54—Altar of Santa Catalina in Avila Cathedral.
Attributed to Zarza.

circular bas-relief. On the pedestal it is recorded that the bones of *El Tostado* ("the Tanned" for such was his curious appellation) were brought here on the 10th of February, 1521; but the monument must have been completed or nearly so in 1518, for it is on record that in that year Domenico Fancelli



MONUMENT TO BISHOP ALFONSO DE MADRIGAL, EL TOSTADO,
AVILA CATHEDRAL.

Vasco de la Zarza, Sculptor, ca. 1517.

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was called upon by the cathedral chapter to appraise it. Next in artistic value is the *trascoro* (Fig. 53), a prodigious work cut in stone and depicting scenes from the life of Christ. It too is ascribed to Zarza but is totally unlike the foregoing



FIG. 55—Altar in the Sacristy of Avila Cathedral.

Attributed to Berruguete.

work. While the frame is Renaissance the sculptural panels have more of a Gothic decorativeness. Many hands were kept busy on this *trascoro*, Juan Rodriguez, Zarza's best known follower, having charge of it after the master's death about 1536. The two fine altars in the transept, one dedicated to San Segundo and the other to Santa Catalina, are a much

more personal expression of Zarza's hand, especially the former which on examination proves to be of greater refinement than the more breezy execution of the latter (Fig. 54). Though both might be criticised as over ornate they have much charming detail. In the altar of San Segundo the sculptural panels have a decidedly primitive quality along with that same sensitiveness for mouldings and little architectural details that is observed in the Tostado monument. Particularly fine is the cyma forming the base to the pedestal, ornamented with a delicate dolphin pattern strange, somehow, in this inland mountain town. Zarza is seen in quite another mood in some exquisite miniature carving in the shape of a marble custodia at the base of the magnificent painted retablo—a piece as delicate and mellow as an old ivory casket. Sculpture of an entirely different school from that of Fancelli and Zarza is the very Spanish altar of alabaster in the sacristy (Fig. 55). In it architecture is merely a sculptor's background, as the elliptical arch over the figure of Christ plainly proves. Mouldings are nowhere featured or ornamented, and colonnettes are but decorative adjuncts; but the figures are of extraordinary realism and of that tenseness truly Spanish. Berruguete is given (locally) as the author; at least it is of his school.

The few sixteenth-century palaces in Avila are of granite and belong to the same medieval class as those to presently be described in Estremadura. Renaissance is found mostly in fragmentary motifs such as doorways and windows, for which the friable granite of the region was worked in a very peculiar and local style. The huge monoliths thus fashioned into jambs and lintels are like coarse fragments of decadent Roman (Fig. 56). In patios this ornamentation becomes more general and is freely employed on lintels, parapets, and brackets, but the forms carved are most rudimentary and are indefinitely repeated, as, for instance, the stone balls in the cloister arches of the Convento de Santo Tomás. The best known of Avila's palaces is the Casa Polentinos, now a military academy. Here something more ambitious was attempted but the palace was left unfinished for centuries and the recent additions and restorations for the purpose of adapting it to

its present use give no clue as to what it would have been as a palace. The only notable exterior feature of the original building is the imposing doorway with armorial panels at the sides and a curious machicolated motif above.



FIG. 56—Typical Granite Doorway, Avila.

Segovia, the other important mountain town of the region, is primarily Romanesque. It has no notable Renaissance monuments in its cathedral and its few sixteenth-century houses are of the Avila type. One innovation, however, is presented in the Casa de los Picos (facets), a caprice from Lombardy of which this is a solitary example. Of the local type of house, that of the Marqués del Arco has an interesting patio of granite where the diagonal arch of the corners, essentially a Spanish feature, is very well applied (Fig. 57). Segovia is the center for a sort of sgraffito treatment rare in Spain.

The stucco fronts are in tan and white, the latter being the under coat which shows when the tan is scraped away. Designs are usually simple geometric arrangements but a few Renaissance rinceaux and swags are seen. Most of the ex-



FIG. 57—Patio of the Palacio del Marqués del Arco, Segovia.

amples are fairly modern but it is said that the process was used in the region in the late sixteenth century.

Valladolid, the favorite residence of the sovereigns of Castile and capital for awhile of the great Spanish Empire, has surprisingly little of sixteenth-century architecture to offer, nearly all it had having disappeared in the city's recent zeal for modernizing. Its most interesting monuments, and

these considerably restored, are the Colegio de San Gregorio and the Colegio de la Santa Cruz, both of the late fifteenth century. How the latter came to acquire its posterior Renaissance applications has been mentioned in Chapter I. As to the San Gregorio, its exterior, like those of several contemporaries in the city, is outside the realm of sane architecture but its main patio (Plate XXXV), while also fantastically rich, yet has a definite scheme. The architect is said by some to be Macias Carpintero and by others, Felipe Vigarní. Certain mouldings and minor details anticipate the new movement but these are submerged in a preponderance of decadent Flemish Gothic, and the whole shows a tinge of Moorish. Structurally the composition of the patio is simple enough—a double-storied arcade with twisted columns supporting flat arches below, and patterned columns supporting semi-circular arches above. This diagonal patterning was very typical of the Flemish in Spain and was preserved by Egas in his newel post at Toledo. Excessive richness occurs only in the upper story where a stone screen is inserted in the arches to shade the claustral walk—apparently an adaptation of the wooden Moorish screen. Beyond these generalities, which closely follow the original structure, there is nothing to examine, for hardly any of the old work survived the restoration.

This building, we have previously said, is in a class with the Infantado Palace at Guadalajara by Juan Guas (Johan Waas) the Fleming who built San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo for Queen Isabella. In each case the northern architect while eager to add new elements to his repertory was unwilling to eliminate any of the old. Had Egas been in the same mood when he came in contact with Italian workmen and models at Toledo, Spanish Plateresque would have been more Flemish than Italian. In a secondary patio of the Colegio de San Gregorio is a little window of mixed Moorish and Plateresque which offers a favorable comparison with the more vulgar Flemish and Plateresque of the principal patio. Between Valladolid's late fifteenth-century structures and Herrera's cold classic cathedral commenced in 1585 (see page 428) there is practically no monument of importance; but the city con-

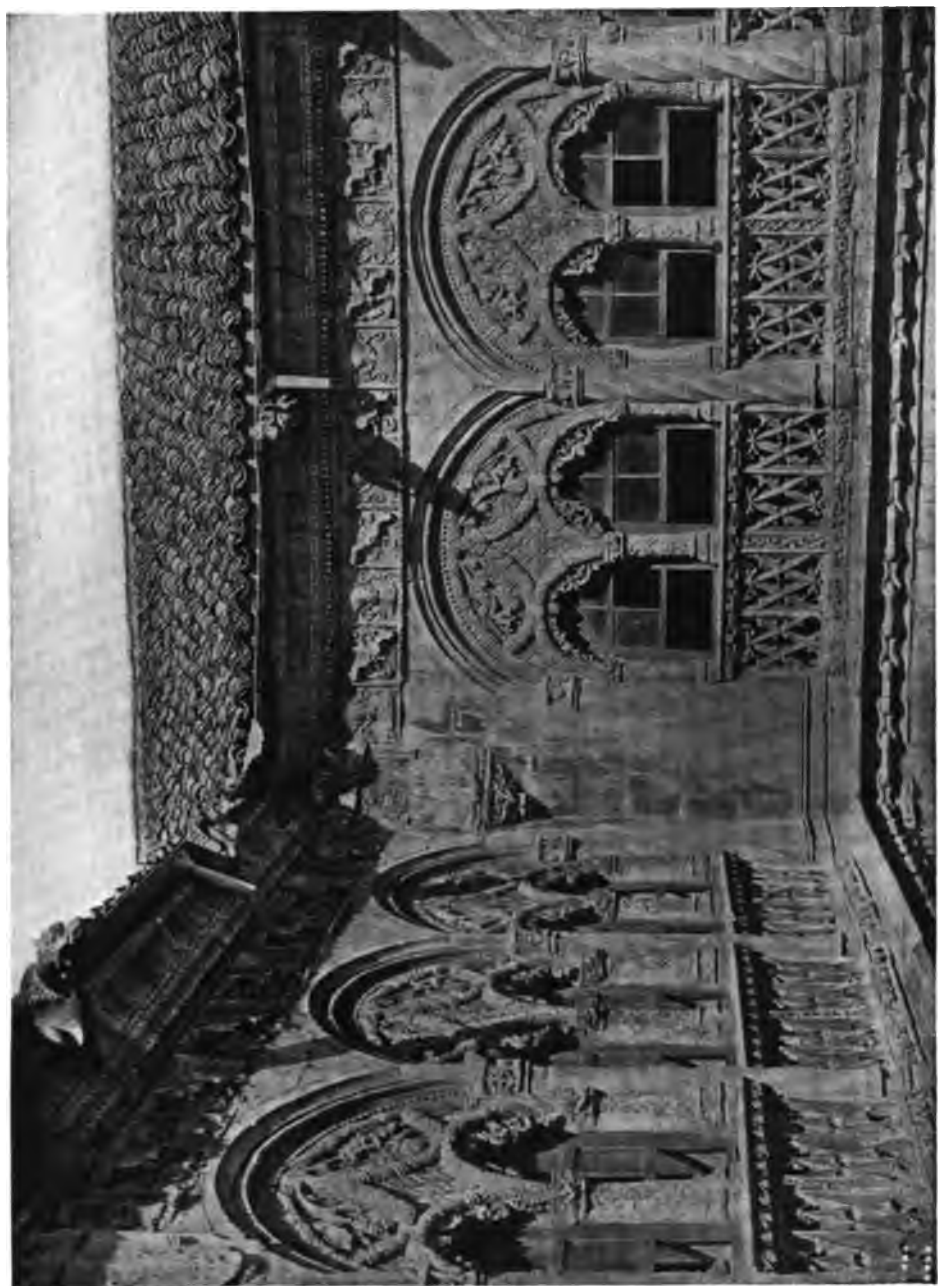
tains a little museum, installed in the Colegio de Santa Cruz, with a rare collection of Castilian sculpture. Although outside the scope of a strictly architectural study, this collection is too interesting to be passed without a word.



FIG. 58—Wooden Pulpit in the Colegiata of Aranda del Duero.

It has already been said that at the dawn of the Renaissance, plastic art in Spain had reached a flourishing stage and was practiced by many foreigners as well as natives. As the century progressed it developed into something distinctly national. The figure went on steadily improving, not in the sense that it approached more and more to the classic beauty of the Italian, but precisely because it diverged from that and became intensely racy. It was curious, dramatic, yet always supremely dignified. Even in purely architectural carving this same independence and personality also prevailed and while grace was not always attained the forms were well balanced. The more sculpture grew to be individual in expression, the greater became the passion for applying it. Mural painting meanwhile found no favor in the land. The churches alone must have kept an army of figure sculptors busy, and secular work also employed them lavishly. All materials used in build-

ing had to submit to the Spaniard's craving for form—terra cotta, coarse granite, fine marble and alabaster, wood, slate, and even iron were carved. But as time went on one material—that best adapted to realistic portraiture—came to hold the field of figure sculpture for itself; not because of the greater facility with which wood could be



PATIO OF THE COLEGIO DE SAN GREGORIO, VALLADOLID.

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carved, but because it offered the best ground for the application of color, and without color sculpture could not be Spanish. Spain, except for the brief sway of Fancelli and Ordóñez, had remained faithful to polychrome and con-



FIG. 59—Pulpit with Alternating Mudéjar and Renaissance Panels, Amusco, near Palencia.

tinued to do so even after sculpture was dead in the rest of Europe; Zalzilla of Murcia, one of the most renowned polychromists, lived in the eighteenth century. To the devout Spanish soul monochrome saints could never speak as eloquently as those painted true to life; nor was it alone a craving for realism that demanded color; centuries of contact with Mussulman art had much to do with the painted and gilded retablos and altars, the bright-hued azulejos, the gorgeous damasks with their rich galloon and fringe, which were all inseparable from Spanish worship. The process of coloring wooden statuary was called *estofado*, that is, the simulating of stuffs. It consisted of a foundation of heavy gold to be

painted upon, and the paint then scratched through with fine lines until enough gold was exposed to impart the richness of the fabric (generally brocade) imitated. Flesh, and especially suffering or dead flesh, was counterfeited with appalling realism.

The first Italian-trained sculptor to turn back to the national tradition was Alonso Berruguete whom we have already seen as an eminent architectural ornamentalist in Alcalá, Toledo, and Salamanca. His marvelous wood statuary may be studied, along with that of several worthy disciples, in the Valladolid museum. Berruguete was the son of Pedro de Berruguete, one of the best known Castilian painters. After his father's death in 1504 he left his native Paredes de Nava, near Valladolid, and went to Italy. There he studied painting, sculpture, and architecture. In Rome he knew both Michelangelo and Bramante. The latter commissioned him to make a copy of the Laocoon, and the remembrance of that expressive group was always mixed up with the Titans of Michelangelo in his work. In 1520, the year of Ordóñez's death, he returned to Spain and took that master's place as the foremost of Spanish sculptors; not, however, as a maker of marble monuments inspired by Italian models (although he did execute several such) but as a wood carver who was to return to medieval polychrome. Yet in his story-telling, faithfully colored groups he nevertheless retained something of the vigorous classic he had learned to execute under the great Italian. Always noble and distinguished, his figures became more and more ascetic until finally his lean nervous saints seem to foretell the enraptured visions of El Greco. Those preserved in Valladolid (Plate XXXVI) are fragments from the colossal retablo of the Monasterio de San Benito el Real, which was still intact when Don Isidor Bosarte made his well reported *Viage Artístico*. In the magnificent Toledo stalls carved by Berruguete and illustrated in Chapter II (Fig. 16) a large portion of the work was necessarily entrusted to pupils, but in the earlier retablo for San Benito we know from the terms of the contract, dated 1526, that at least all the faces and hands were to be carved and painted by the master himself. Seeing that all these figures are much less



THREE FIGURES IN WOOD FROM THE RETABLO OF SAN BENITO, VALLADOLID.

Alonso de Berruguete, Sculptor, 1526.



draped than those in contemporary retablos we may consider all except the garments to be his work. Not only the intense masculinity of his sculpture but also the brilliance and skill with which it was painted must have been a revelation to other workers; we soon find not only Castilians but Frenchmen who were working in the province, falling into line. Nearly all the architectural framing of the San Benito retablo is missing, but its various stages were upheld, according to Bosarte's description, by Lombard baluster colonnettes and not by the more formal classic order. (According to M. Emile Bertaux,¹ this style of colonnette, so recurrent in Plateresque, first appeared in a retablo—that begun in 1505 for Palencia Cathedral by Felipe de Vigarní—earlier, it will be seen, than its use in the Mendoza palace at Lacalahorra.) The great Berruguete died in Toledo while working on the marble tomb of Cardinal Juan de Tavera which he began in 1554, when over seventy years of age. His influence had been profound and far-reaching in Castile; and if it be advanced that the exaggerated movements of his figures became a mannerism with his followers Andrés de Nájera, Estéban Jordan, Inocencio Berruguete and others, it must be remembered that, even without his example, the Castilian turned naturally to the deepest human emotions as the subject of his art. About the end of the century which elapsed from the beginning of Berruguete's career in Castile to the end of Gregorio Fernandez's, an Andalusian school of polychromists arose quite independently of the Castilian, yet along the same general lines. To be sure the southerners selected by preference the happier incidents of the Virgin's or saints' lives, but where suffering had to be depicted, none exceeded them (Montañés, for instance) in poignancy. We may assume then that these strongly marked tendencies in sculpture expressed a truly Spanish attitude of mind; in Berruguete's case they were undoubtedly crystallized by the dignity and seriousness of Michelangelo, but not inspired by him.

We have already seen in the chapter on Salamanca, that

¹ *Histoire de l'Art*, par André Michel, vol. iv (with concluding chapter on the Renaissance in Spain by Emile Bertaux).

Juan de Alava and others carried the new style to Plasencia Cathedral in Estremadura. This province of Estremadura, extending along the Portuguese border, is the most exclusive and backward in Spain. It has no great architectural monu-



FIG. 60—Portal Adjoining the Bishop's Palace, Plasencia.

ments, its one notable undertaking, the cathedral just referred to, having soon come to a standstill. This church belongs in reality to the group of late Gothic Castilian cathedrals. Juan de Alava, Diego de Siloe, Francisco de Colonia, Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón, and Alonso de Covarrubias are all in part responsible but only the first mentioned, who was for awhile maestro mayor, ever dedicated much time to it. Coro and transept reached completion but the church still awaits a nave. While structurally late Gothic its principal façade is in richest Plateresque—that is, rich in quantity but with neither balance

nor definite scheme. Alava displays a keener knowledge of the style in the church of San Estéban in Salamanca. As for the other distinguished architects resurrected by those who have examined Plasencia's archives, their intervention led to



FIG. 61—Palacio del Duque de San Carlos, Trujillo.

nothing distinctive. The church will always be more visited for its extraordinarily impudent Gothic stalls by Rodrigo Alemán (1520) than for its Plateresque front.

Far more pertinent to the province are the crude granite palaces built by the returned *conquistadores*. Those hardy men who went out to subdue the new savage world were almost all Estrameños, and they invariably brought back their Mexican and Peruvian gold and formed a *mayorazgo* (entailed estate) in their native town. The palaces they built are semi-medieval, romantic-looking, and not without a

certain grandeur, but they add nothing to the history of Plateresque. Even where they acquired columnar patios and vast stairhalls, the distinguishing feature of the style, its beautiful ornamentation, is lacking; nor was the simpler art



FIG. 62—Sacristy, Sigüenza Cathedral.
Carved Vaulting and Wardrobes Attributed to Xamete.

of colorful surface decoration imported from Andalusia. Throughout the century certain old-time traits persisted—arched entrances with huge voussoirs, sparsity of windows, and strong stone balconies which were merely converted projecting turrets. The one innovation is a curious two-sided window best described as a bite out of the corner; and even this may be a peaceful modification of the defensive

corner turret which permitted a survey in two directions. This motif was very popular and often considerably architecturalized. Obviously its weak note is the arched top breaking at the corner, nevertheless it was effectively used and even



FIG. 63—Detail of Stairway in the Palacio de los Dueños, Medina del Campo.

extended to neighboring provinces. Conquistador palaces may be found in Plasencia, Badajoz, Zafra, Cáceres, and Trujillo, the most monumental being those of the Pizarro family in the last mentioned town; one of these, the Palacio de los Duques de San Carlos, is illustrated in Fig. 61. This town of Trujillo is an altogether picturesque and primitive spot in the Sierra de Guadalupe, far from any railroad. Plasencia contains, besides the local type, the small house illustrated in Fig. 139 by Juan de Herrera, and Badajoz Cathedral boasts one of the finest memorial brasses that ever came out of Italy. It was made for the tomb of Lorenzo de Figueroa, who died in 1506 as Ambassador to Venice.

León, far to the north of the kingdom, was never a Renaissance center but in it stands the masterpiece of one of

the most distinctive architects of the Plateresque period. This is the Monastery of San Marcos by Juan de Badajoz. The same architect is responsible for the notable cloister of San Zóil in Carrión de los Condes, some forty miles or more



FIG. 64—Patio of Later Mendoza Palace, Guadalajara.

to the southeast. San Marcos was projected in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella but was not actually undertaken until 1514; between that date and 1549 Juan de Badajoz erected the greater part of the façade. After his death the work dragged on until 1715 when it terminated in the central entrance and absurd feature over it. Thus was marred one



DETAIL FROM THE FAÇADE OF THE MONASTERY OF SAN MARCOS, LEÓN.

Juan de Badajoz, Architect.

20



TWO BAYS IN THE VAULTING OF THE CLOISTER OF SAN ZÓIL, CARRIÓN DE LOS CONDES.
Juan de Badajoz, Architect, 1537-1604.

21

of the finest Renaissance façades in Spain. The architect's earnest effort to express what is behind his exterior has resulted in a most agreeable asymmetric treatment. As has been remarked, the Spanish conception of a façade was a formidable wall that concealed rather than revealed the arrangement behind; San Marcos is therefore a departure. The east end with its deeply recessed entrance expresses the church, and is as much Gothic as Renaissance; the remainder, or monastery proper, is entirely in the new style. Horizontally the front is divided into equal stories, the lower treated with pilasters, the upper with engaged colonnettes. Particularly effective is the row of medallion busts of the lower story (Plate XXXVII). The golden limestone of the region is the material used here, but so unrestrainedly plastic is the character of the ornamentation that it gives one the impression of terra cotta. As many of the little caprices in the detail recur in the Carrión example it is reasonably certain that the architect himself must have been the dominant sculptor. For Spanish work it is unusually low in relief and therefore less realistic. The lower story, particularly the fine medallions, has been much maltreated, but now that the edifice has been declared a national monument depredations have ceased. Of the interior, only the church and cloister are interesting and these are more Gothic than Renaissance. The latter is in the style of the San Zóil cloister but inferior to it in detail, which comment also applies to the same

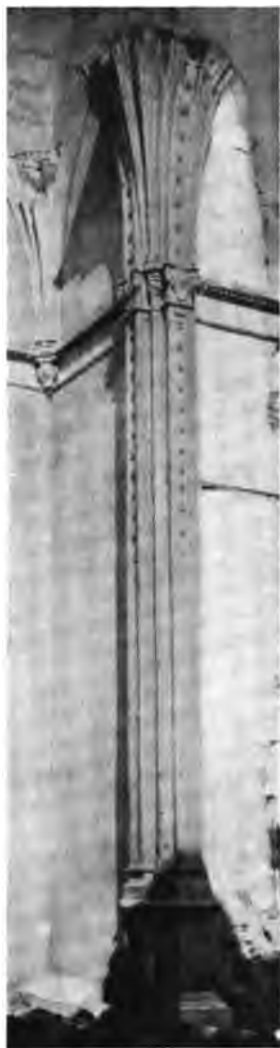


FIG. 65—Pier in the Church of the Convento de la Piedad, Guadalajara.

architect's work in the cathedral cloisters. An entirely different conception of Renaissance is seen in the vast palace of the illustrious Guzman family—a perfunctory product relieved by picturesque gargoyles and corner windows. The most interest-



FIG. 66—Detail from the Portal of the Capilla de los Caballeros, Cuenca Cathedral.

ing feature is the main entrance with scrolls overhead supporting standing grotesques. This composition recalls the Alcalá University but the work here is only mediocre. The palace was built in 1560 but the architect is thus far unknown.

In the cloister of the Benedictine Convento de San Zóil at Carrión de los Condes, Juan de Badajoz's enthusiasm for plastic forms has covered the entire vaulting of the four walks

with reliefs of biblical personages, emperors, and heroes. Cer-

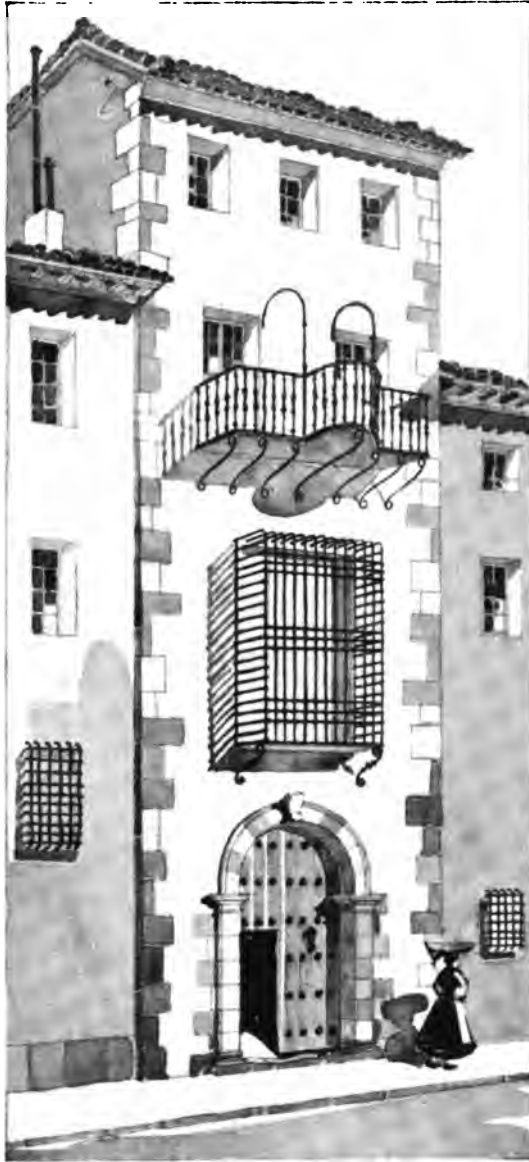


FIG. 67—Sketch of a House in Cuenca.

tain it is that the famous order was no longer heeding Saint Bernard's plea for sobriety. The profusion of pendants and bosses as well as the general disposition of the ribs recall Diego

de Riaño's vestibule in the Seville Ayuntamiento, but here at San Zóil the whole scheme is infinitely richer. It may be said to be typically Spanish—a sculpturesque conception of architecture, restless, but a marvel of execution. The finest



FIG. 68—Small Iron Reja in the Cathedral of Cuenca.

bay is that over the northeast corner above the entrance from the church (Plate XXXVIII) containing effigies of the founders, the Counts of Carrión, and their children. The five pendants terminate in portrait reliefs, the center quatrefoil is decorated with blazons, and the remaining panels have figures in low relief. In the southeast corner is another particularly beautiful bay also shown in Plate XXXVIII, and even more sculptural in character. Various saints here form the decorative theme; in fact, it would be difficult to find a personage mentioned in the Scriptures who is not represented



CLOISTER OF THE FORMER HIERONYMITE MONASTERY, LUPIANA.

44



CARVED WOODEN DOORS OF THE SACRISTY, CUENCA CATHEDRAL.

By Alonzo de Berruguete.

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in this cloister. In addition to all this vigorous sculpture there are some exquisite bits of miniature carving in the panels of the piers, dancing fawns and shy nudes of the greatest delicacy, but out of scale (and perhaps out of place). An inscription



FIG. 69—Patio of the Palacio Espejo, Ciudad Rodrigo.

in the northeast corner says that the new cloister was commenced on the seventh of March, 1537, and finished in 1604, after the master's death. The ensemble is Gothic, and Juan de Badajoz, though interested principally in sculptural ornament, preserved all the thoroughness of good Gothic vaulting. The rest of the monastery is without merit, a fine Romanesque church having been torn down to accommodate the present ugly seventeenth-century one. But the claustral walk and

some rare examples of early printing in the convent library make the tedious journey worth while.

In many other small towns of Old and New Castile there are charming isolated bits of Renaissance, sometimes a whole palace, sometimes a church portal, sometimes only a tomb or a pulpit; but complete edifices, Renaissance through and through to the same studied extent as the examples of Italy or France, cannot be found. In Bribiesca, a little to the north of Burgos, there is a renowned retablo; in Sigüenza, between Alcalá and Zaragoza, fine Plateresque portals in the cloisters, and several chapels and rejas; also a sacristy (Fig. 62) renowned for its barrel vaulting adorned with rosettes and three hundred or more carved heads. In Lupiana, near Guadalajara, is a very beautiful patio to the former monastery (now the country home of a Madrid nobleman); this is in the style of Covarrubias's patio at Alcalá, but much perfected (Plate XXXIX). At Cuenca, in the cathedral, is the most notable assembly of rejas of the period. Several of these are set in exquisitely designed portals by Xamete, an architect but little known, and whose name is now linked with the famous vaulting in Sigüenza just mentioned. In Cuenca, too, is a remarkable pair of doors carved in walnut and probably by Berruguete (Plate XL). Indeed it is precisely in remote spots whither it was called by patrician or prelate that detached bits must be sought; for as remarked at the beginning of this book, the Renaissance did not answer to any national demand in Spain. But few people needed it. What the rich and educated wanted most was sumptuous decoration, rich materials and stuffs; the type of structure to which these were accessory was very secondary. Only in very few places, and these where the personality of a Fonseca or other art patron was dominant, did the architectural movement take deep enough root to change the medieval aspect of a Castilian town.

CHAPTER VII

SEVILLE AND THE WORK OF DIEGO DE RIAÑO

SEVILLE'S POLITICAL IMPORTANCE AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA—THE CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN OR BOARD OF TRADE—DIEGO DE RIAÑO ARCHITECT OF THE CASAS CAPITULARES OR CITY HALL—RIAÑO COMPARED WITH DIEGO DE SILOE WHO WORKED CONTEMPORANEOUSLY IN GRANADA—RIAÑO'S PROBABLE PLAN FOR THE CITY HALL—EXTERIOR OF THE BUILDING—INTERIOR AND ARRANGEMENT OF RADIATING FIGURES IN CEILINGS—RIAÑO'S WORK IN THE CATHEDRAL AS MAESTRO MAYOR—HIS EARLY DEATH—MARTIN GAINZA AND OTHERS WHO SUCCEEDED AS MAESTRO MAYOR AND THE CHANGES THEY MADE IN RIAÑO'S PLANS—THE SACRISTÍA MAYOR—A FEW OF THE TREASURES GUARDED IN THE SACRISTY—RENAISSANCE REJAS IN THE CATHEDRAL BY SANCHE MUÑOZ OF CUENCA AND FRAY FRANCISCO OF SALAMANCA—THE GIRALDA OR BELFRY OF THE CATHEDRAL—ITS UPPER PORTION BY FERNÁN RUIZ—LOCAL CRITICISM OF RUIZ'S WORK

CHAPTER VII

SEVILLE AND THE WORK OF DIEGO DE RIAÑO

THE only Andalusian cities to be discussed here are Seville and Granada, and in addition a few small towns near them to which their influence spread. The scattered monuments in the rest of the province present no features not covered in these centers. This statement usually evokes some protest, for the reader is accustomed to the notion that Andalusia is the incomparable part of Spain, the scene of every great event in her history, and the cradle of Spanish art; that the grim central and northern provinces were in every way tributary to the picturesque and romantic south. But when one pierces through the glamor which the Romantic School cast over this undeniably delectable land *wo die Citronen blühen* and faces bald facts, one finds that most of the cities which had been of prime importance under Moorish rule dwindled to paltry towns after the Reconquest, and that as a natural result there was but little building activity.

It was Fernando III (*Fernando el Santo* since his canonization in the seventeenth century) who deprived the Moors of all their Andalusian holdings save Granada. In 1236 he took Córdoba and then in quick succession Murcia, Jaén, and Seville. The day was too late for the virile Romanesque churches that had marked the reclaiming of Castile; and although it was this same Fernando who had ordered the three mighty Gothic cathedrals of Burgos, Toledo, and León, he made no similar provision for his new cities. To do so, and at the earliest opportunity, was no doubt his intention; but things went badly with Spain under his successors, who left the Christians of Andalusia to worship in *ex-mosques*,

and in fact to lag in every way. Córdoba, that had been a marvel of art and the intellectual center of the world under the Khalifate, was forever extinguished. Except for the unfortunate Plateresque coro in the mosque the Christians gave it nothing; though it must be said to their credit that they appreciated the Arab temple and fought off this incongruous intrusion as long as possible. Seville might have fallen into the same decay as Córdoba had it not been that the conqueror selected it as a royal residence.

As the incoming Christians of the year 1236 were no match for the Moors in carpentry and kindred crafts, Moorish taste in the arrangement and disposition of the house persisted. In the ecclesiastical field the early Spaniards were content with made-over mosques and did not order their Gothic cathedral until 1401. Long before this, however, royal preference had turned north again and the city's good fortune suffered a relapse. Political life continued to center in Castile until the Catholic Sovereigns took the decision to fight the Moorish campaign to a finish. This brought Andalusia, and particularly Seville, into great prominence. Here the court frequently resided while the war was in progress; consequently the nobles established themselves and built palaces.

Yet this resuscitation, since it had no economic foundation, would have ended in nothing more than temporary glamor except for that extraordinary event, the discovery of the New World. This gave Seville material prosperity, for the sovereigns invested it with the monopoly of transatlantic trade and created the Casa de Contratación and the Tribunal de las Indias to deal with colonial affairs. With such advantages Seville, although fifty miles up the Guadalquivir, became the chief seaport of Spain. It is said that whenever the silver fleet came in, a long procession of ox-carts was kept busy carrying the ingots from the wharves. A history published in the sixteenth century gives an interesting picture of those unexpected golden days: "The Casa de Contratación in Sevilla, such is the amount of business transacted by it, is the most rich in the world to-day. It is the center of all the markets of the earth, and Andalucía and Lusitania which formerly were



AYUNTAMIENTO OR CITY HALL, SEVILLE
Original portion (to the left) by Diego de Riaño, 1527-35.

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the extreme end of all land are now, since the discovery of The Indies, become as the middle of it . . . the city hums with all kinds of negotiations and buying and selling in which enormous sums are exchanged; so that neither Tyre nor

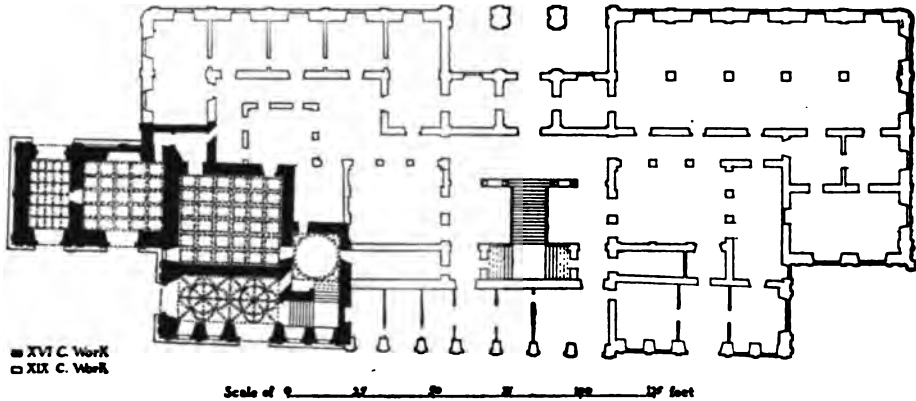


FIG. 70—Plan of the Casas Capitulares or City Hall, Seville.
Heavy portion by Diego de Riaño, 1527, and remainder added in
XIX Century.

Alexandria in their day could have equaled it.”¹ Such bustling trade naturally attracted foreigners. French, Flemish, and Italians came, these last being mostly bankers to replace the expelled Jews. And of course the Carrara contractors sent their agents, knowing that prosperity would soon express itself in monuments. It must be remembered that the great discovery was not immediately a financial success for Spain; rather the reverse; a fact to bear in mind when attention is called to the many objects, even entire ceilings, gilded with the first gold brought back by Christopher Columbus. The few poor trinkets collected by Columbus in his first cruise around the West Indies would not have gone far with Isabella’s goldsmiths or wood-gilders. It was not until after the conquest of Mexico and Peru that Spanish coffers began to swell; and so the sixteenth century had passed its first quarter before an important municipal building rose.

This was the Casas Capitulares or City Hall begun in 1527—not the large building as seen to-day but merely the

¹ El Padre Mercada, *Suma de Tratos y Contratos*.

southern end which long sufficed for municipal needs and which the eye can easily detach from the recently added larger portion (see plan, Fig. 70). The architect was Diego de Riaño. Ceán-Bermudez gives Juan Sanchez, but many



FIG. 71—Detail from the Entrance Portal of the Casas Capitulares of Seville.

Diego de Riaño, Architect, 1527-34.

entries in the archives of the Ayuntamiento contradict him as for instance: "The above Diego de Riaño is to have 3333 maravedises and a half which are the second third of the 10,000 which are given him as his salary for the year which was terminated at the end of December, 1527, for being *Maestro Mayor de la Obra*." Riaño came probably from Valladolid to take charge of Seville Cathedral which was still building. For its chapter he designed two sumptuous dependencies in Renaissance and one in late Gothic. His name is

as paramount in the Plateresque period of Seville as Diego de Siloe's is in that of Granada, and as both were Castilians and worked simultaneously in these two chief Andalusian cities, a comparison is natural. The most accomplished exponent of Plateresque was he who infused into it the greatest spontaneity and ingenuity—its very essence. Riaño's is fresh and inspiring even after the lapse of centuries; and while structurally he accomplished nothing so remarkable as Siloe's dome to the Granada Cathedral (see p. 284) still his work is much more Spanish; that is, more Plateresque.

The Casas Capitulares, or Ayuntamiento as it is more often called, is a small building erected on the site of the old fish-market whose removal had been ordered by the Catholic Sovereigns because of its "bad appearance and disturbing odors." Back of the Casas stood the Convent of San Francisco and it was into this that the vaulted archway seen on the south end was designed to lead.¹ Not even a fragmentary sketch remains to show what the original intention was but judging from the fact that in 1535 the impatient city fathers suggested "that the plans be cut down in order that the structure may be more quickly finished" it would seem that Riaño had designed a north counterpart to the charming south wing. If this scheme had been carried out and the building left free-standing, there can be no doubt that it would have been one of the architectural gems of Europe. Its diminutiveness would not have forbidden the lavish treatment designed for it. To-day this sixteenth-century façade (Plate XLI) forms but part of a front 300 feet long, and on which it is intended to continue the same copious ornamentation; one doubts whether the result, no matter how fine the carving, can escape being over-rich and monotonous. Riaño's plan without a patio and with one and possibly two wings, was a marked departure

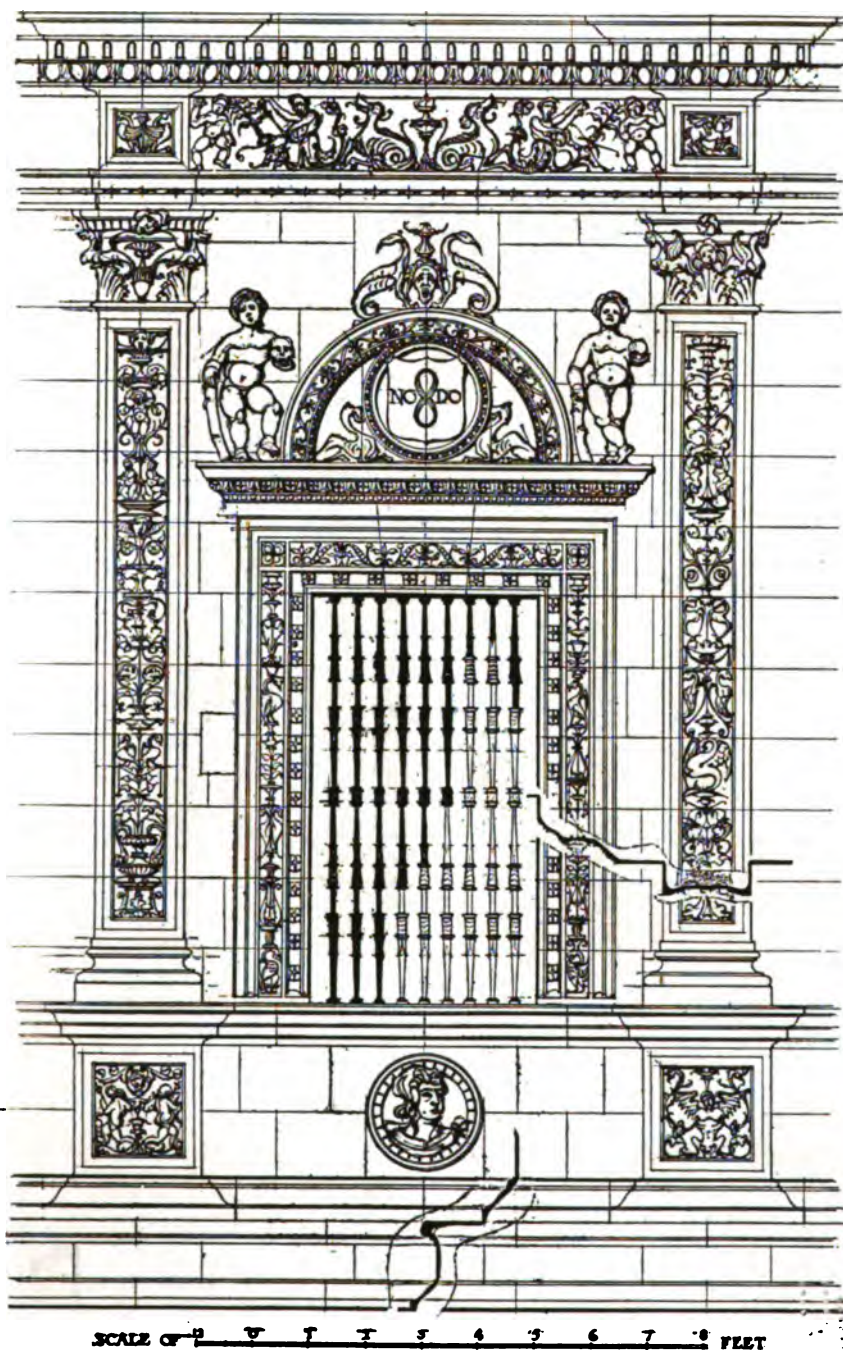
¹ This monastery was of incomparable wealth and size; its church extended north to the Calle Granada where one of the nave pillars may be seen incorporated in the northeast angle of the new part of the City Hall. Its cloisters covered most of the present Plaza de San Fernando. In 1810 Napoleon's troops sacked it and either intentionally or accidentally burned it almost to the ground. The Franciscans were still rebuilding when the Exclaustration Act came in 1835. It was then taken over by the government as a barracks and finally removed for the enlargement of the Ayuntamiento.

from the accepted Spanish type of unbroken perimeter. It may have been determined by the exigencies of the site, but even so it indicates the architect's knowledge of the Italian. In his ornament, however, he was thoroughly Spanish; but



FIG. 72—The City's Escutcheon on the Façade of the Ayuntamiento or City Hall, Seville, 1534.

with even more than the usual fervidness for the figure. The eminent Professor Justi claims that Riaño invented a new system of ornament in which special emphasis was laid on the figure. This can hardly be granted but it is true that his use of radiating figures in the dome was an innovation—not a new system of ornament, merely his personal caprice. Differing from the earlier system where concentrated ornament contrasted with blank wall area, here, owing to the application of the orders, it is distributed over the entire façade.



SCALE DRAWING OF A WINDOW OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO, SEVILLE.
Diego de Riaño, Architect, 1527-35.

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The facility of the execution is marvelous, as if the forms had been carved in feverish haste before the artist's impression could grow vague. Not a medallion or statue but repays examination. One of the most naïve motifs is the city's



FIG. 73—Sculptural Panel from Façade of Ayuntamiento, Seville.

escutcheon (Fig. 72)—the Saints Fernando, Isidor, and Leandro—most Gothically placed over a window perfectly Renaissance. Another point reminiscent of Gothic may be seen in the reveals of window and door openings where splayed jambs were preferred to the more classic form of architrave. In contrast to this is the extraordinary purity of all the moulded work, more classic in contour than most Spanish examples. The chief carver, and at the same time superintendent, was Juan Sanchez who, on Riaño's early death, succeeded him as *maestro de la obra*, along with Martin Gainza. It is not known where Sanchez came from but certain aspects of the carving take one back to Salamanca. There may be some connection between this resemblance and the following entry in the

Libro de Fabrica of the cathedral for the year 1530: "Seventy ducats were given to Diego de Riaño to pay a *peón* who had been to Salamanca to hire artizans." Apparently Riaño was looking for carvers who could interpret his design free from Mudéjar influence.

The original City Hall was entered by the vestibule on the southeast corner whose two enormous portals left it practically open to the street. This room is entirely of stone with a vaulted ceiling conceived in Gothic but with Renaissance bosses and rib profiles (Fig. 74). The adjoining stairway is likewise vaulted in stone, its ornamentation coarser than that of the vestibule. It was done after Riaño's death but shows his designing in the radiating bas-reliefs of human figures. The same arrangement is encountered on a much larger scale in the sacristy of the cathedral designed by Riaño and carried out long after by Gainza. The most important room of the Ayuntamiento is the upper council-room which has a magnificent ceiling of coffered wood richly gilded and with touches of color in the soffits and ribs. This artesonado is of the time of Philip II. Who designed it is not known but it is recorded that Antón Velasquez and another image-painter claimed extra money for some painting and gilding which they "were not obliged by contract to do," also for "extra work on a frieze which was ordered blue and later changed to Roman gold." This room must have been very sumptuous when hung with the Córdoba leather hangings or *guadamaciles* ordered for it by the council in 1533, and which were to be "very good and with the arms of the Emperor and of the city painted and gilded upon them." This has all disappeared; also the embroidered velvet which succeeded it and which was burned after a visitation of the plague. Many sculptors, masons, wood carvers, image painters, and "masters in making letters" had to be called in, to judge from the old account books of the Ayuntamiento, before the structure was declared suitably finished and the following inscription (now removed) carved on the façade: "Reigning in Castilla the Very High and Very Catholic and Very Powerful King Don Felipe II . . . this building was completed on the twenty-second day of the month of August of the year MDLXIII."

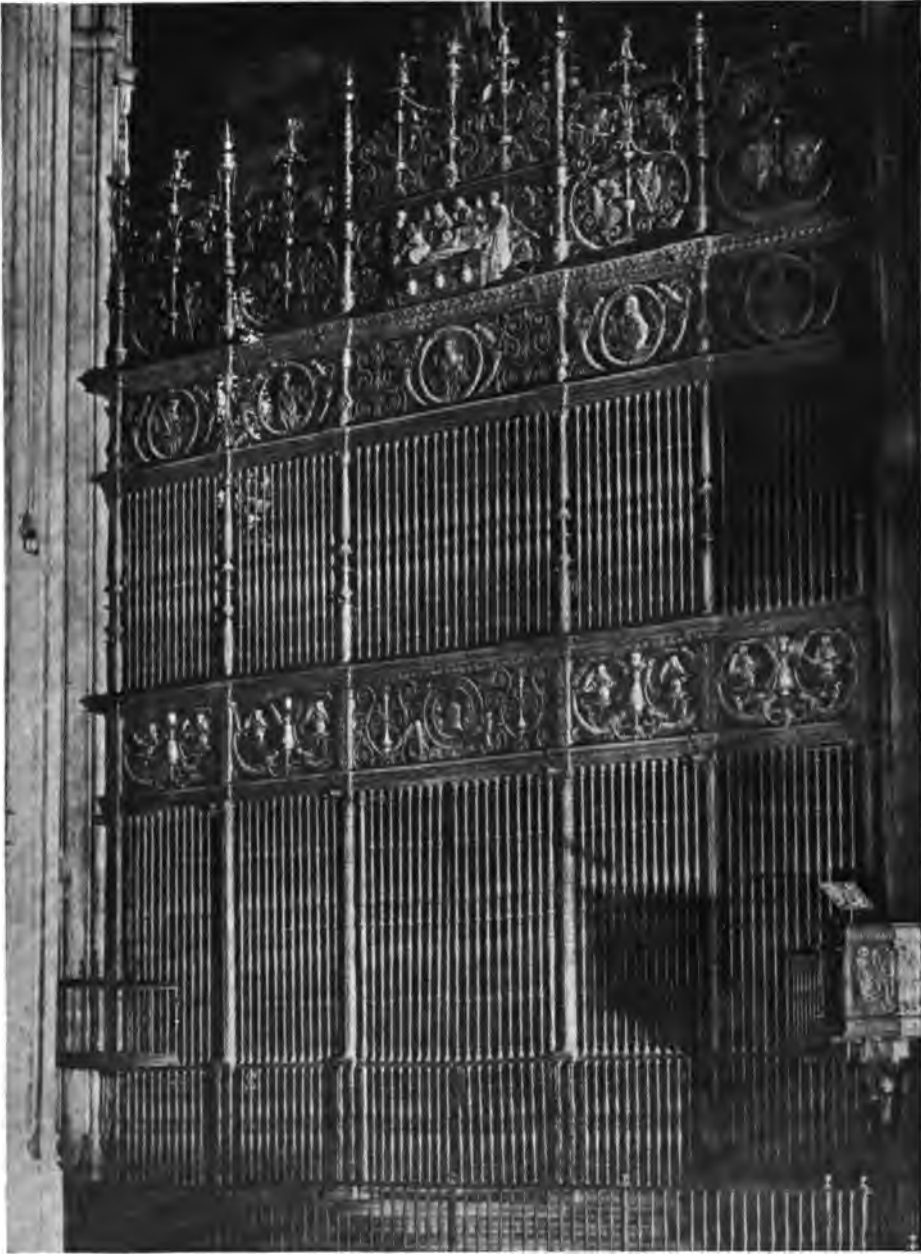
The exterior of the foregoing having been nearly completed before Riaño's death in 1534 it offers a more satisfactory study of his architecture than does his work in the cathedral, since this had hardly been commenced before that date. As maestro



FIG. 74—Ceiling of Vestibule in the Casas Capitulares, Seville.
Diego de Riaño, Architect, 1527-34.

mayor he designed the small Sacristy of the Chalices in good late Gothic, the main sacristy in Plateresque, and the chapter-room decorated in the style of the classic revival, or as the enthusiastic Sevillian Don José Gestoso y Pérez expresses it, Riaño worked "in pious Gothic, joyous Plateresque, and profound classic." This last is meant to qualify the chapter-room but the fact is, one may see classic more profound in the upper stage of the Plateresque sacristy. The chapter-room was not started until after his death and dragged on with

many alterations until the end of the century; and as for its decoration, classic revival was unknown to Riaño. Even in the sacristy, so much more typical of him, it must be remembered that Plateresque is so personal, and so much depends on the actual execution, that an artist's posthumous work cannot be accepted without great reservations. The ornament here is by no means as fine as that of the City Hall but certainly what quality it has is due to the high standards set in the earlier building. In the scheme, on the other hand, there is more knowledge of classic forms than previously revealed by him; this may be explained by the fact that the cathedral chapter, distraught over his early death, immediately called in "F. de Siloe, maestro mayor of the city of Granada, to see the plans and visit the works of the sacristy"; which *F. de Siloe* can be no other than Diego, already engaged in erecting his Renaissance cathedral of Granada. This entry in the records is the only ground for the claim made by certain Granadinos that their "school" spread to Seville. It was only three years before Riaño's death that the chapter empowered him to order stone for the two sacristies from Utrera, Puerta de Santa Maria, and Jerez. So it is plain to be seen how little progress could have been made on them. One is therefore thrown back on the Ayuntamiento for a concrete estimate of the man's work. He died in Valladolid where he was permitted to pass four months of each year by the terms of his contract with the Seville chapter. His superintendent Martin Gainza, whose biography is not known but whose name is Basque, was ordered by the canons to make plaster models of the three dependencies according to the late architect's plans. These plans they had safe in their possession for shortly before they had paid Riaño fifty ducats for various "conceptions" but on condition that he should first deliver to them "all tracings, plans, and other papers which he had made in order that the majordomo might deposit them in the archives." When Gainza had complied Hernán Ruiz, maestro mayor of Córdoba, and a colleague were paid to come and criticize both models and plans; and it is worth recording as further proof of the extreme solicitude with



REJA OF THE CAPILLA MAYOR, SEVILLE CATHEDRAL.
By Sancho Muñez (and probably Fray Francisco de Salamanca), 1518-33.

10

which the canons proceeded that they sent for Diego de Siloe and Rodrigo Gil de Ontañón to come and give their advice. All reports being satisfactory Gainza, now maestro mayor, was authorized to continue the work. On his death late in 1555 architects from all parts were invited to apply for the position. By September of 1556 seven had presented themselves, among them Hernán Ruiz of Córdoba, Andrés Vandelvira of Jaén, Diego de Siloe, and Pedro de Machuca of Granada, but this last entry must mean Luis de Machuca. Ruiz was chosen but the rejected were paid fifty ducats "for their coming, sojourning, and returning and for the plans they made for the masonry work." Ruiz did not live long and again experts were invited to qualify. These details are given to show to what extent Riaño's intentions were subjected to various interpreters.

In plan the main sacristy is a cross of short arms surmounted by a dome. Its ornament, as already mentioned, is of the most exuberant, even to the point of concealing the simplicity of the structure; but above the main frieze this Plateresque exuberance gives way to more conventional classic in the shape of swags, and panels of dancing warriors. The actual dome and supporting pendentives are very fine, and show none of the restless treatment seen below. There are three horizontal stages to the dome, adorned with radiating figures supplanting ribs—an arrangement previously referred to as peculiarly Riaño's. In the royal chapel by Martin Gainza may be seen to what an extreme this treatment could be carried; for here every principle of good decoration is thrown aside in the unbridled desire for ornamentation.

Among the many treasures guarded in this sacristy is the silver custodia by Juan de Arfe y Villafán, third generation in Spain of the famous Arfe family, and author of a treatise on classic and Renaissance design. The custodia stands nearly ten feet high and is in the form of a classic tempietto (Fig. 75). Aside from its consummate skill in execution, this piece is interesting because it is about the last in which the real quality of beaten metal is preserved, as may be seen by comparing it with the same master's later work in the cathedral

of Valladolid. Another masterpiece in metal to be seen in the sacristy is the huge bronze tenebraria or candelero placed on the high altar during Holy week. The colossal amount of fine Plateresque rejería (iron grilles) in this cathedral offers a



FIG 75—Silver Custodia
ten feet high, Seville Cathedral.

*Juan de Arfe y Villafán.
1580-87*

pretext for saying something about the renowned ironworkers Sancho Muñez of Cuenca and Fray Francisco of Salamanca. Their profound knowledge of the Italian style is exemplified in the rejas of the capilla mayor and coro, one of which is illustrated in Plate XLIII. The church records are very confused as to which was Muñez's and which the friar's, and contradict themselves many times over, which strengthens the suspicion that the striking harmony between the two rejas is the result of close collaboration on the part of the rejeros. Cuenca, whence Muñez had been summoned in 1519 by the canons, was famous for its ironworkers and possesses several specimens by him in which the Seville motifs reappear; it is therefore not unreasonable to assume that he was the leading spirit in the fashioning of these mighty Sevillian grilles. The resplendent portion of each is the cresting, consisting of wreaths and scrolls framing biblical

personages; the capilla mayor reja has, in addition, a panel of the Entombment which is a magnificent piece of embossing in iron.

Seville is not as interesting in the early architectural periods as it should be considering its prominence under the Romans and Moors. As was usual the latter quarried from Roman monuments and the Christians destroyed the Moorish.



LA GIRALDA, THE CAMPANILE OF SEVILLE CATHEDRAL, SEEN IN
DIRECT ELEVATION AND IN PERSPECTIVE 300 FEET
FROM ITS BASE.

all

Of these last but two important examples remain and one of them, the Alcázar, was almost entirely rebuilt by Peter the Cruel and later kings; the other, the *alminar* or prayer tower of the chief mosque, was converted into a belfry and is known all the world over as the Giralda (Plate XLIV). It takes its place here because in the sixteenth century a Spanish architect, Hernán Ruiz, son of the maestro mayor of Córdoba, crowned it with a Renaissance stage, and the result is a most skillful welding of Asiatic and European architecture. The Arab portion consists of a core and an outer shell, the latter measuring 45 feet square; between the two there is an ascending ramp of easy grade. As originally built the core rose some 40 feet above the outer wall and both were finished off with pointed battlements, in addition to which the core bore a dome of polychrome tiles crowned by four diminishing bronze spheres. All this, it is plain, must have been a perfectly satisfactory Oriental conception. In this first form the prayer tower stood intact from the twelfth century until the fourteenth when an earthquake shattered the iron supports of the spheres. These and the dome were removed, and as the city was now Christian, they were replaced by a crude bell support. At the same time a row of pointed arches holding a bell, was substituted for the battlements of the outer wall.

Thus the *alminar* became a campanile. The chief mosque alongside had served as a cathedral until the opening of the fourteenth century, as already stated, when it was torn down to make place for the slow-building Gothic structure. In 1568, Ruiz, maestro mayor of the cathedral, was instructed by the chapter to design a Renaissance termination to the tower, and crowned it with an enormous bronze statue of Faith holding the banner of Constantine. This Faith (instead of being fixed and unchanging) is the *giraldillo* or weather-vane which gives the whole tower its popular name, for the statue, though weighing a ton and a quarter, is so adjusted as to turn with the wind. Ruiz's portion of the Giralda consists of a first arched stage of equal diameter with the old and built around the same core; but it does not extend to the full height of the core which rises above and forms the base of the Renais-

sance spire. The structure now measures 287 feet high; and, as the eye travels upward, one is unconscious of any abrupt transition in the union of the new with the old. The same color of brick, but not the same kind, was used in the sixteenth



FIG. 76—A Corner Pinnacle of the Giralda Tower, Seville.

By Hernán Ruiz, 1568.

century as in the twelfth, but no attempt was made to imitate the exquisite patterning of the Moors; instead the two stages are tied together principally by carrying the important vertical lines of the older portion up through the new. Ruiz's belfry piers, necessarily solid, were made to echo the lightness of the lower portion by means of an inlay of black tiles suggesting perforations. The openness of the design at this point affords an opportunity of studying the construction, entirely carried out in brick and in a manner no less thorough than the work below by the Moorish architect Jabir. The transition between the slender prolongation of the core and the main shaft is more happy in perspective than in direct elevation, due to the skillful handling of the balus-

trade motifs and the curious corner pinnacles (Fig. 76) built up of stone and iron.

Judging the tower as a whole, it is assuredly an inspiring and monumental composition. It is as homogeneous as if it had been erected from the ground up in the sixteenth century, a symbol of Spanish culture itself which was so largely built on Moorish foundations. Yet modern critics, faithfully repeating each other year after year, deplore Ruiz's work as a "mutilation" and claim that he might have done much better "if only he had had some feeling for art, as had his contemporaries who were filling all Spain with architectural

marvels. There is nothing to admire in the outline of the tower, nothing graceful to exalt the spirit, and nothing finally which is remarkable in its constructional daring." The architect, like the average layman of Seville who loves his Giralda passionately, will be inclined to dispute each one of these points. It does uplift the spirit, for Ruiz's portion embodies what all the Gothicists tried to express in their lofty spires; also it is structurally adventurous. Seeing that Moorish towers had to be christianized, it is doubtful whether it could have been done better. Furthermore, seeing that the Spaniards had a mania for tearing down Moorish edifices we may be thankful that the prayer-tower has been preserved even though "mutilated."

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEVILLIAN HOUSE AND THE MONUMENTS AT OSUNA

PREVALENCE OF MUDÉJAR TRADITIONS IN DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE—
COLOR FREELY USED IN INTERIORS—THE PATIO CHIEFLY AN EXPRESSION
IN YESERÍA—METHODS OF WORKING PLASTER—AZULEJOS AND THEIR
USE—INTRODUCTION OF RENAISSANCE DESIGNS BY THE ITALIAN CERAMIST
FRAY NICULOSO OF PISA—HIS PORTAL TO THE CONVENT-CHURCH OF SANTA
PAULA—SEVILLIAN GARDENS AND THEIR TREATMENT—HOUSE OF THE
DUKE OF ALBA, KNOWN LOCALLY AS THE CASA DE LAS DUEÑAS—OTHER
MUDÉJAR HOUSES—THE RIBERA TOMBS IN THE CHAPEL OF THE UNIVER-
SITY—THE TOWN OF OSUNA NEAR SEVILLE—THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH
AND THE SEPULCRO DE LOS DUQUES

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEVILLIAN HOUSE AND THE MONUMENTS AT OSUNA

THE Renaissance had comparatively little effect on the domestic architecture of Seville, as was natural in a city where Moorish traditions had survived the Reconquest. The same observation has already been made with reference to Toledo, but the type of dwelling evolved by the Moors of Andalusia was altogether gayer and more attractive than that in the stern Castilian city. Outside, the Sevillian house was little more than white stucco and this continued to suffice even during the era of great prosperity. In 1586 Alonso de Morgado wrote in his *Historia de Sevilla* that Sevillians were commencing to ornament their houses on the street side "having in the past spent all their money on the interior as in Moorish days without thinking of the exterior"; but his next sentence describes nothing more in the way of outer additions than rich rejas. The poetic chronicler appears to have been led into an undue exaggeration of the architectural importance of rejas by the fact that "an infinite number of noble and chaste ladies honor said rejas by their presence." True, a few marble entrances were imported from Genoa but it cannot be said that façades achieved any real architectural treatment. The nearest approach to such is the little top-story loggia now walled up in many examples. In default of architecture, the interior offers a wealth of inspiration in the decorative field. Color was the dominating note supplied by polychrome azulejos in floors and walls and by painted wooden ceilings. Marble was always used for the slender patio column which supported richly worked yesería arches; and many such columns are in fact from older

Moorish buildings. As for plan, that was the usual grouping of rooms around the patio; but as the needs and wealth of the family grew this arrangement was repeated with interesting irregularity until, to cite the Ribera house (now the Alba), the scheme included no less than eleven patios. The principal, which was rarely the first one entered, kept its character of an outdoor room and was covered with an awning (*toldo*) while the others were either paved or treated as gardens. As a rule only the principal one was architecturalized.

The patio was primarily an expression in *yasería*, the motifs of which show an imaginative combination of Moorish, Gothic, and Renaissance. It is odd that plasterwork and tiles, both directly due to the Moslems, should have been the chief vehicle of Renaissance expression; but it must be remembered that of stone carving there was practically none, and that in woodwork—doors, shutters, and ceilings—Moorish carpentería prevailed. The *yasería* arches of the patio are semicircular and stilted, and the archivolt is profusely worked. This last instead of resting on the classic entablature rests on a moulded box whose spread permits of the most characteristic detail of the style—the secondary pilaster between the arches, which is a survival of the vertical Moorish inscription band. In the Sevillian house such pilasters are nearly always treated in pure Plateresque no matter how Oriental may be the rest of the design. The spandrel was rarely ornamented at first but later was filled with Plateresque forms or, as in the Pinelos house, with portrait busts. *Yasería* again appears in the ornamental frame around the lofty openings leading from the patio, and in the friezes that support the wooden ceilings inside. This early Spanish *yasería* was not cast but carved—the practice prevailing in Morocco to-day. The plaster was cut into blocks 2 inches thick and varying from 18 inches to 3 feet in length; these were laid up in much the same manner as stone would have been, except that in curved surfaces such as the soffit of an arch the usual method of plastering was followed. The proposed ornament was then scratched on. Presumably the Moorish artizans employed on this work went about it much as in Morocco to-day; without a



YESERÍA PANELS FROM THE CASA DEL DUQUE DE ALBA,
SEVILLE.

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pattern, having at their finger-tips all the combinations possible within the limits of their geometric design. When Renaissance arabesques and figure work were demanded, however, it is probable that a stencil was furnished, which proceeding would

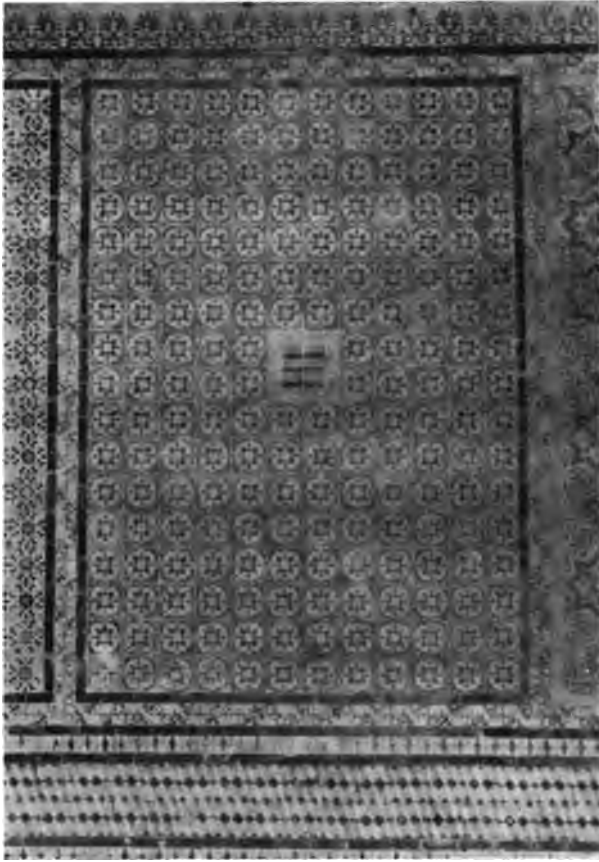


FIG. 77—Panel of Iridescent Azulejos in the Casa Pilatos, Seville.

account for the regularity seen in the units of such design. Original work is found only in odd bits but where restorations have been undertaken casts have been made from the old blocks to supply the missing portions. In a patio thus filled out one is able to gather a fairly good impression of its former effectiveness. None of the sixteenth-century yasería was colored; it was employed for its own charm and was not, as

in Moorish edifices, a field for that bewildering polychrome decoration which so often suggests the pastry-cook's art. Left uncolored it assumes a rich old ivory tone. In texture it is no longer the fine dense substance the Moors produced;



FIG. 78—Sunken Patio in the Casa de los Venerables Sacerdotes, Seville.

that process appears to have been lost; but being coarse and the tool marks evident, it has its own charm as may be seen in Plate XLV. It is when used as a frieze that *yesería* most appeals to the modern.

Another feature peculiar to the Andalusian house is the incorporation on a very large scale of enameled earthenware in the form of tiles. This fashion is believed to have been brought to Seville along with patterned brickwork by the invading Almohades in the twelfth century. The tile still retains its popularity as well as its Arab name *azulejo* (*al*=the, and *zulecha*=glazed brick, according to the most recent students). It would be impossible to form an idea from mere description of the extent to which the *azulejos* were used in Seville and its region. The *zócalo*, corresponding to our wainscot, is entirely of *azulejos*, and in older houses it runs to a height of ten feet, as in the Casa Pilatos. Here it is divided



ALTAR OF AZULEJOS IN THE REAL ALCÁZAR, SEVILLE.
By Francisco Niculoso of Pisa, 1503.

11



AZULEJO PORTAL OF THE CONVENTO DE SANTA PAULA, SEVILLE.

By Fray Francisco Niculoso of Pisa.

4

off by different patternings into a series of panels (Fig. 77) and these, with their splendid coloring and luster, give the effect of a row of Oriental silk rugs; which no doubt is precisely what they were meant to suggest in the Spanish Arab's home.



FIG. 79—Azulejo Treatment in the Gardens of the Real Alcázar, Seville.

In many coffered wooden ceilings a tile forms the center of each *casetón*; in floors and stairs they are usually combined with bricks or dull red square tiles; in gardens and patios, whole benches, paths, and fountains are made of them (Fig. 78) and there is even an entire azulejo façade on a sixteenth-century house in Carmona, near Seville.

The first Moorish azulejos were true mosaics, the tile maker cutting innumerable small pieces from white, black, blue, and green baked squares, and fitting them together in geometric patterns. The process was difficult and wasteful and was superseded by the *cuerda seca* (dry line). By this method the pattern, after being impressed on the wet clay by a matrix, was outlined with a mixture of grease and manganese which prevented the colors from running together

when floated over the intervening spaces. The colors on being baked formed a low relief and the *cuerda seca* of grease acted like the metal line in *cloisonné*. About the early sixteenth century two new processes appeared, the *cuenca* and the *pisano*. In that known as the *cuenca* (concavity) the design was pressed in, leaving a fine ridge of clay to form the barrier between the various colors; the result was the exact contrary of the *cuerda seca*, the body of the design being depressed and its outline raised. In the *pisano* process, so called because introduced by Fra Francesco Niculoso of Pisa, the subjects were freely painted on the clay. Renaissance arabesques and decorative figures comprised the first designs but later the process degenerated into mere servile imitation of large paintings (Plate XLVI). The monk's backgrounds were usually yellow, but two tones, blue on white, were also used. Until the middle seventeenth century, *cuenca*s and *pisano*s were made in countless numbers. The painted tile while not as interesting in surface as the others was more easily made and became a most popular architectural adjunct. As such it may be seen in Fray Niculoso's beautiful doorway to the convent-church of Santa Paula (Plate XLVII).

Seville still has many fine Moorish ceilings but this feature is even more abundant in Granada and will be examined in Chapter X. Sevillian gardens, however, have no counterpart anywhere and are particularly grateful after the dearth in Castile. With no relation to any European prototype they were entirely a Moorish conception—a cool retreat from the Andalusian sun. Even as early as the thirteenth century they had attained fame, for the eminent Granadino Eben Said wrote in his *Descripción de España y Africa*: "At present [1237] the splendor of Andalusia appears to have spread to Tunis where the sultan is constructing palaces and planting gardens in the Andalusian manner. All his architects are natives of Andalusia . . . also his gardeners." What survives to-day of the extensive Moorish scheme is a small permanent or planted portion of green, with flowering plants used sparingly and always in pots so as to be variously grouped from time to time. This Seville garden is small, intimate,



GARDEN OF THE MUSEO PROVINCIAL, SEVILLE.

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never visible from the street, in no sense a setting for the house but rather the reverse—the white-walled house a setting

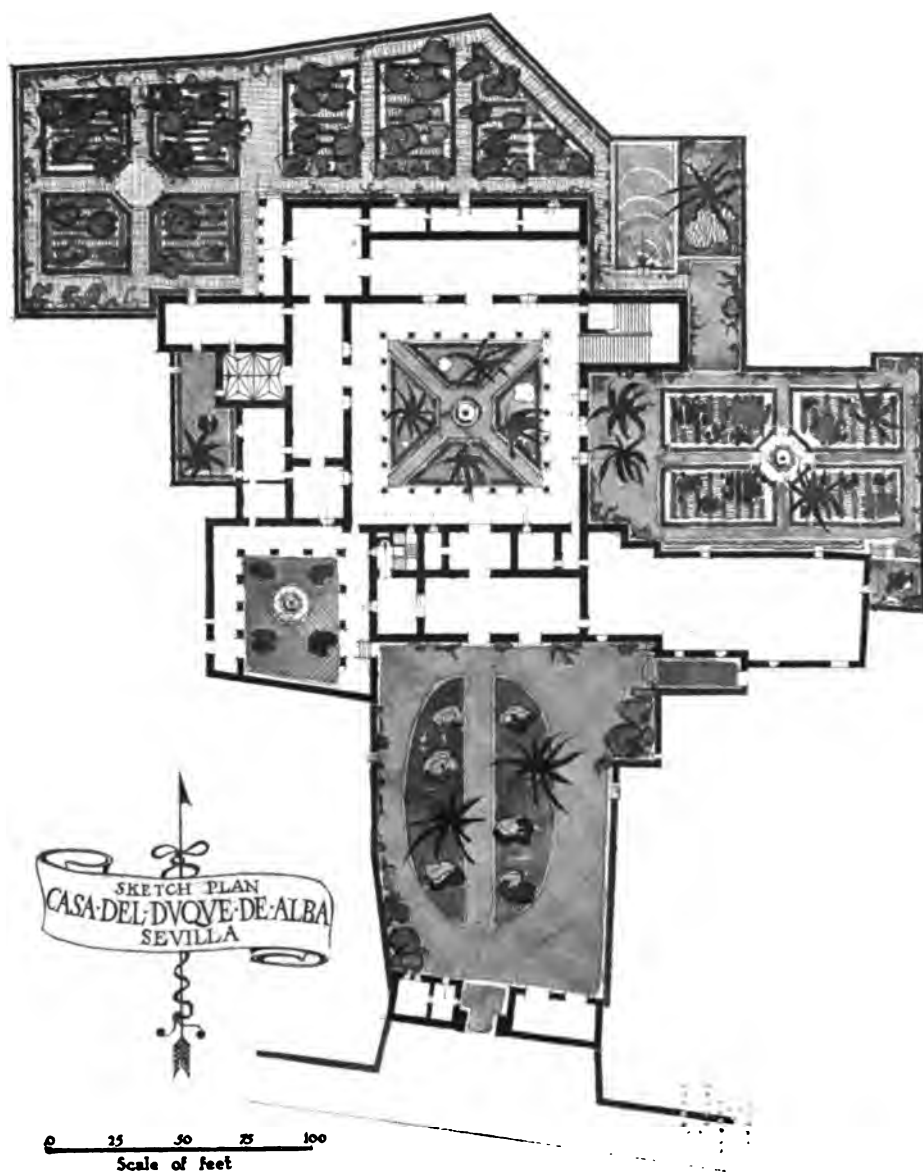


FIG. 80—Garden of the Casa Pilatos, Seville.

for the garden. Being restricted and personal its success depends largely on the neat study of its detail. The nucleus is always the basin, its water fed from a low centerpiece of ceramics; this is generally octagonal and entirely constructed of azulejos. Basin and paths leading to it form a unit of design, repeated according to the area to be treated and thus keeping the scale uniformly small. The whole layout is an

interesting study in primary colors; the field of green is frequently secured by a low creeping vine instead of grass and serves to set off the positive reds, blues, and yellows of the azulejos; for azulejos, more often than flowers, are the dominating note of color in the green scheme. Paths are of either dull red tile interspersed with azulejos or bright yellow sand, and outlined in either case by colored curb tiles. The polychrome of the azulejos, while used effectively, is not a necessity, for results just as distinctive are obtained in two colors, blue and white, green and white, or yellow and white. In the former Convento de la Merced, now the Provincial Museum, is a recently made-over example carried out in this manner (Plate XLVIII). The basin is of the two dominant tones but richer color notes are used in the bottom of the pool. The main paths are tiles—a basket-weave pattern of dull red bricks interspersed with blue and white azulejos; subsidiary paths are sanded. All are bordered with alternate blue and white tiles 2 inches wide and 8 long. Around the various centerpieces and on the edges of the pool are placed blue and white flower-pots containing geraniums. The whole treatment is one of precision and orderliness—a sort of glorified mosaic. In old examples that have fallen into decay, naturally this excessive orderliness has disappeared and though these have the charm of all abandoned gardens the distinctive Andalusian note is felt less.

One of the most admired Mudéjar houses in Seville and justly so is that of the Dukes of Alba. It was founded by the Pinedas who had to sell it in 1484 to the Riberas in order to raise money to ransom the head of their house from the Moors of Granada. The sixteenth-century part is therefore due to the Riberas, who later intermarried with the Albas. These Riberas were of princely estate and built simultaneously the other renowned example in the city, the so-called Casa de Pilatos; but the latter is much more Moorish in spite of its portal and thirteen of the patio columns having been executed in Genoa (along with the well-known Ribera tombs). The Alba palace has the advantage, so infrequent in towns even of Andalusia, of an extensive forecourt (see plan, Plate XLIX),



PLAN OF THE CASA DEL DUQUE DE ALBA, SEVILLE.

but as it is known that the existing house was but a portion of the earlier, the forecourt may have been enclosed by buildings formerly and thus conformed to the Spanish custom of building on the street. The entrance to the forecourt dates from the seventeenth century; at its left is the porter's lodge and at the right a secondary stable. The exterior of the main building, it is said, was originally of red brick relieved by bands of azulejos; now it is all in white stucco and the composition is simplicity itself with no architectural treatment whatever.

On passing into the first vestibule or dismounting space with its inevitable long bench one sees a good sixteenth-century beamed ceiling, undecorated. A more elaborate one, but also unpainted, is in the small *recibidor* approached by several steps at the left end of the vestibule. Separated from this *recibidor* by a good reja is an interesting stairhall, but not the principal one, treated in azulejos. Returning to the main patio it is amusing to dissect it and classify its various features: arches and door frames of Mudéjar yesería; painted ceilings both Renaissance and Moorish; Gothic rejas and a Gothic parapet of stone, and lastly huge Mudéjar wooden doors swung on pivots as in the Alhambra, the lower pivot sunken into the floor and the upper received by a projecting corbel above. Such a patio, needless to add, is distinctly Oriental in its ensemble but on examining the various features much pure Renaissance detail is revealed (Plate L). As may be seen in the plan, the even number of bays prevents it from being on axis with either the entrance, the surrounding rooms, or the garden. Opening off from it are several fine salons with beautifully decorated ceilings; but the most striking room here is the chapel with the ribs of its vaulted ceiling, also the altar and *zócalo*, all of iridescent azulejos. These tiles are admitted to be the finest extant specimens of metallic reflections (*reflejos metálicos*) and the whole room is aglow with gold. From the left end of the large salon passed through to reach the chapel opens a smaller room whose beamed ceiling has never been restored and is one of the finest in the house. The general background is red brown, the soffits of the large

beams are patterned in black, and the panels between the beams are also practically black, with decoration picked out in red, light blue, and gold. The ceiling rests on a yesería frieze about three feet high. On this floor the remaining



FIG. 81—Decorated Wooden Ceiling in the Casa del Duque de Alba, Seville.

important salon, that to the north of the patio, was apparently used as a summer dining-room (for it was, and still is, customary to move down to the cooler ground floor in summer). This dining-room had no windows but was open at one end to the garden. Here, too, is a fine ceiling and a rich yesería frieze. The principal stair is vast and constitutes a wing to the building; but it is unattractive and bare, its former artonado having disappeared. As was customary, one side of the patio, or rather of the whole structure, was left open at the second story level to form a terrace overlooking the



PRINCIPAL PATIO OF THE CASA DEL DUQUE DE
ALBA, SEVILLE.



MINOR PATIO IN THE CASA DEL DUQUE DE ALBA,
SEVILLE.

100

100

100

100

garden, which lies to the right of the house. On this second floor are some beautiful ceilings recently brought to light after



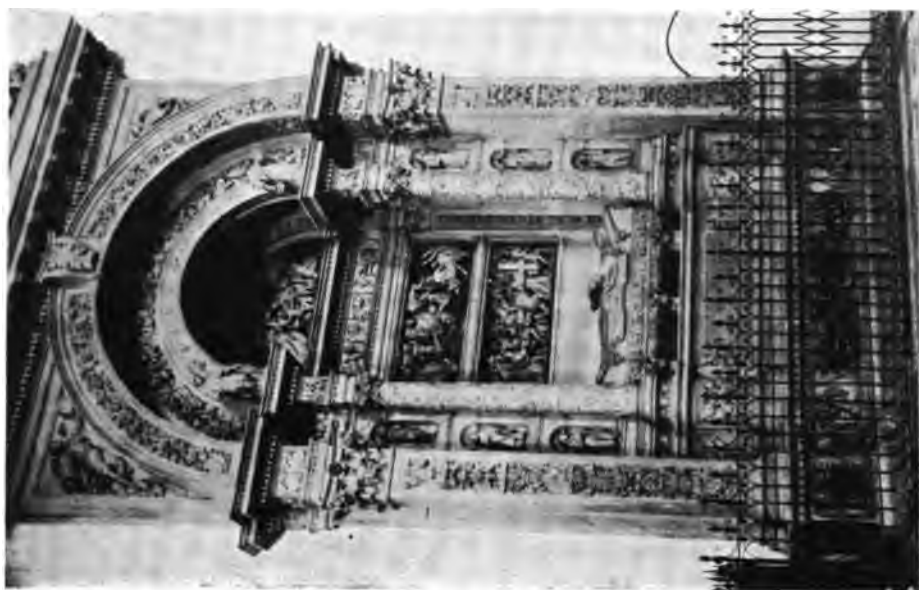
FIG. 82—Doorway in Upper Cloister of the Casa del Duque de Alba, Seville.

having been plastered over for centuries; the finest is that in the lofty salon in the northwest corner under the cupola. In its treatment the Alba house is typical of sixteenth-century domestic work in Seville; that is, the Renaissance did little more than penetrate into the applied decoration.

The Casa Pilatos already referred to is more pronouncedly

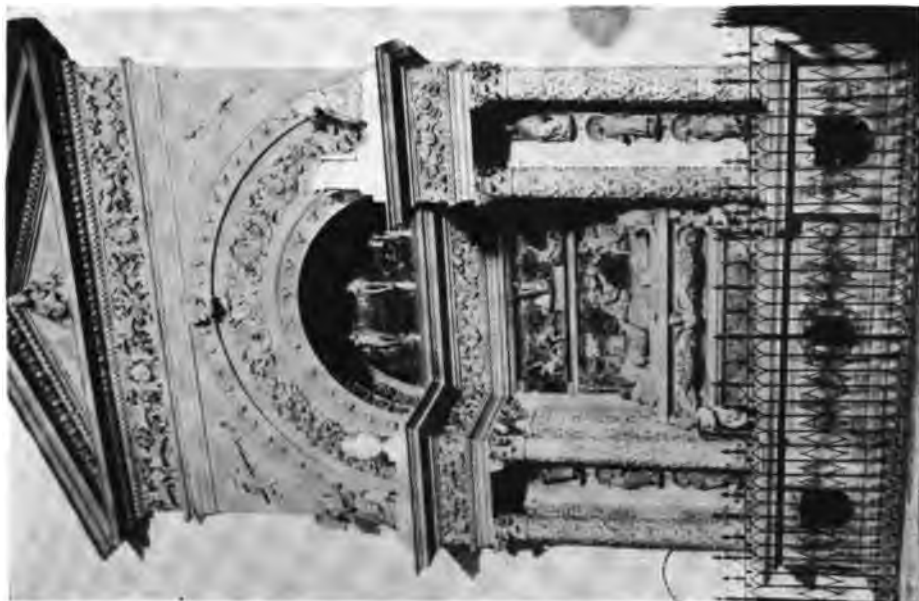
Moorish although its building continued throughout the entire century. The *ysería* in particular is more Oriental but several of the ceilings and *rejas* are Renaissance. Similar ceilings are in the well-known Palacio Olea in the street of Guzman el Bueno. The most Plateresque *ysería* in the city is in the Pinelos house in the Calle Abades, but this has been greatly restored. Here, in the treatment of the secondary pilasters and the reliefs in the spandrels, Renaissance is more architecturally appreciated than elsewhere. In the Calle Levis, the former Jewry, is a neglected old palace which appears to have been more distinctly Renaissance than any other example. It has been converted into a tenement for half a hundred families, but many of its ceilings, carved eaves, and other fragments of the century are still well preserved.

It has been mentioned that the princely Ribera family ordered their tombs from Genoese sculptors. These sculptors, Antonio Aprile and Pace Gazini, were apparently a firm with agents in Seville and they also furnished marble accessories for the Ribera palace and the Alcázar. The tombs were first placed in the rich Carthusian monastery in Triana (now a pottery) but were removed by the family and placed in the University Chapel on the secularizing of the monasteries. Most praised are the wall monuments of Dón Pedro Enrique de Ribera by Aprile, and of his wife Doña Catalina by Gazini (Plate LI); but the truth is that these works display a lack of sentiment rare even in the most commercial work of the Genoese stone-cutters. The ornament is formal and is not helped out by the cold bluish marble in which it is carved. The tombs are nevertheless very sumptuous and "attracted so much attention when first set up in the Cartuja that the sculptors received several contracts from important Sevillian families." Too much cannot be said for another Ribera monument of a different sort—the magnificent large floor slab commemorating Per Afán de Ribera, Viceroy of Naples (d. 1571). This is in bronze, with a characteristic full-length engraved figure and an exquisite border. The provenance of Per Afán's monument is unknown but it is as fine in its way as the beautiful Venetian bronze in Badajoz Cathedral to



TOMB OF PEDRO DE ENRIQUE DE RIBERA IN
THE UNIVERSITY CHAPEL, SEVILLE.

By Antonio de Aprile of Genoa.



TOMB OF CATALINA DE RIBERA IN THE UNI-
VERSITY CHAPEL, SEVILLE.

By Pace Gasini.

21

another ambassador to Italy, Lorenzo de Figueroa. This University Church contains other treasures including several statues by the great polychromist Montañés.

Osuna, some sixty miles east of Seville, is the ancient seat



FIG. 83—Detail from Patio in the Sepulcro de los Duques, Osuna.

of the Dukes of Osuna and possesses a monument of great interest to the student of Plateresque. This is the collegiate church with the beautiful *sepulcro de los duques* under the high altar. It was in 1548 that an illustrious member of the family, Don Juan Tellez Girón, "chief gentleman in waiting to the king and one of the four grandees named in 1539 by the Cortes of Toledo," founded the university and converted the simple parochial church into a *colegiata*, both to be a memorial to his parents. The university has no architectural merit but the pantheon and the church possess considerable and are in purest Plateresque notwithstanding their late date. The mausoleum is built at the base of the apse of the church and is for the most part underground, forming

a remarkable succession of rooms. The diminutive patio, 15 feet square with two bays to a side (Plate LII), is first entered. Treated all in white except for the beamed ceiling in red and gold, this patio is particularly striking, and the



FIG. 84—Garden Entrance to the Sepulcro de los Duques, Osuna.

same scheme, with the addition of some vermilion lacquered chairs, is carried out in the little reception room. The basis of the whole pantheon treatment is plaster of rich Plateresque ornamentation. While the detail is purely Italian many of the forms are distinctly Spanish, as, for example, the little impost between the arches (Fig. 83), the baluster colonnette at the corners, and the curious entablatures of the marble



PATIO IN THE SEPULCRO DE LOS DUQUES, OSUNA.

99

columns. This yestería is not carved but cast. In effective contrast to the white background are the several little wall



FIG. 85—Portal of the Colegiata, Osuna.

altars decorated in green and gold. Beyond the patio is the sacristy with a good wooden ceiling, and from this point on the chapel and sepulchral chambers are all underground. The same diminutive scale characterizes all, the coro of the chapel having only nine seats, but these exquisitely carved. There is a wealth of sixteenth-century ironwork in the shape of rejas and small fittings and also a fine display of azulejos.

In the vaults below are the ancient coffins, nearly all of black jasper, the epitaphs in archaic lettering. This pantheon has recently been commendably restored.

Interest in the *colegiata* centers on the west portal (Fig. 85). The work would seem to date from the first quarter of the century but the use of the crowning pediment advances it into its proper decade. In the architrave of the doorway and the base of the pilasters there is a marked resemblance to Enrique Egas's Santa Cruz doorway at Toledo. A curious terra cotta relief fills the tympanum of the arch. Much of the detail is very beautiful, recalling the Salamantine school, a comparison further borne out by the two smaller aisle entrances each side of the central. These have the abbreviated side pilasters supported on corbels, also the stone candelabra above the entablature with the custodia motif between, so freely used in the façade of San Estéban in Salamanca.

CHAPTER IX

GRANADA AND THE WORK OF DIEGO DE SILOE

ATTITUDE OF THE CHRISTIAN CONQUERORS TOWARDS MOORISH ART—IMPORTATION OF CASTILIAN ARCHITECTS—THE ROYAL CHAPEL OR MAUSOLEUM FOR THE CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS THE FIRST UNDERTAKING—ITS FURNISHINGS ORDERED BY DON ANTONIO DE FONSECA—THE TOMB OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA BY DOMENICO FANCELLI—THAT OF JOAN AND PHILIP THE FAIR BY BARTOLOMÉ ORDÓÑEZ—THE RETABLO BY FELIPE DE VIGARNÍ—THE REJA BY BARTOLOMÉ OF JAÉN—ENRIQUE DE EGAS AND THE NEW CATHEDRAL—THE COMMISSION TRANSFERRED TO DIEGO DE SILOE—HIS MANNER OF ADAPTING A RENAISSANCE PLAN TO EGAS'S GOTHIC FOUNDATIONS—SILOE'S DOME—HIS CARVING ON THE PUERTA DE PERDÓN AND THE PUERTA DE SAN JERÓNIMO—SILOE AND THE CONVENT-CHURCH OF SAN JERÓNIMO—SILOE AS AN ARCHITECTURAL ORNAMENTALIST—THE CASA CASTRIL—SILOE'S LONG LIFE IN GRANADA—HOSPITAL REAL BY ENRIQUE DE EGAS AND JUAN GARCÍA DE PRADAS

CHAPTER IX

GRANADA AND THE WORK OF DIEGO DE SILOE

GRANADA, capital of the last Moorish kingdom on Spanish soil, was surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella on January 2, 1492. Here was a curious circumstance, a modern European power acquiring possession of a completely Asiatic city within in its own geographical domain—a city unique in artistic aspect, and one which it would have been the part of wisdom and foresight to preserve if possible. But the Spaniards who conquered Andalusia did not possess that sympathy with Arab culture which Don Alfonso VI had manifested after the fall of Toledo in the eleventh century. In the late fifteenth the stamping out of heresy was the order of the day and the process concerned itself not only with the innermost thoughts of the infidel but also with such outward and visible expressions as the art and literature which embodied his wrong-headedness.¹ Granada mosques were immediately altered into Christian churches. Innumerable new churches and convents were erected, to accommodate which, Moorish buildings were swept away. True, Ferdinand had recommended that “so noble a residence as the Alhambra be respected” but his grandson soon sacrificed a portion of it to his own palace; the splendid royal mosque alongside, in which had been celebrated the first mass

¹ The venerable Archbishop Talavera and the Count of Tendilla, to whom principally the government of Granada was confided, sought to convert the Moors who remained by more or less gentle suasion; but the results were too slow to satisfy either the race hatred of the mob or the pious zeal of the drastic primate, Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. He in 1499 ordered the compulsory baptism of the Moors (so quaintly carved on the retablo of the Capilla Real) and in addition burned thousands of precious Arab manuscripts.

after the surrender, was torn down and replaced by an ugly Herrera structure for which there would have been abundant space elsewhere. For all the new work Castilian architects were called in. The most important of these, Diego de Siloe, of Burgos, founded a distinct Granadine school which in time crossed the Sierra Nevada to Jaén and Ubeda. This school was in no way affected by the Arab art it was supplanting; nor by the Italians who came to Granada. In domestic work, however, many Mudéjar methods still persisted, and various convents and small parish churches are also so completely in that style that the student of conventional church architecture and decoration will meet many surprises—wooden ceilings richly painted and whole interiors of glowing metallic azulejos.

We have seen in the chapter on Burgos how the young artists trained there soon passed to more active building centers. Granada with its physiognomy rapidly Europeanizing could not fail to attract them. Probably most of them came with a special recommendation from Bishop Fonseca whose brother Antonio, one of Queen Isabella's executors, was arranging for the embellishing of the Capilla Real. The Queen had ordered this chapel to be built as her mausoleum and it was begun soon after her death by the old maestro mayor of Toledo Cathedral, Enrique de Egas. It adjoined the chief mosque of the city, which had been selected as the cathedral (and which was replaced in the eighteenth century by the present Sagrario). The Capilla Real is a fine and dignified piece of late Gothic finished in 1517¹ but later added to by Charles who found it "too small for so great a glory." By the time Egas had his structure completed the new style

¹ According to the decorative frieze of huge Gothic capitals, silver on a blue ground, which runs around the interior:

This chapel was ordered to be built by the very Catholic Don Fernando and Doña Isabel king and queen of the Spains Naples Sicily Jerusalem who conquered this kingdom of Granada and reduced it to our faith and built and endowed the churches and monasteries and hospitals of it and gained The Canaries and The Indies and the cities of Oran Tripoli and Bugia and destroyed heresy and put out the Moors and the Jews from these kingdoms and reformed religion the queen finished on Tuesday the twenty-sixth of November of the year 1504 the king finished on Wednesday the twenty-third of January of the year 1516 and this chapel was finished in the year 1517.



TOMBS AND REJA IN THE CAPILLA REAL, GRANADA.

10

was well under way, so that the furnishings ordered for it were Plateresque. They consist of rejas, retablo, chancel, and the royal tombs themselves, all making a veritable museum of early Renaissance (Plate LIII). Of these the two tombs,



FIG. 86—Detail from the Tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella, Granada.
Domenico Fancelli, Sculptor, 1517.

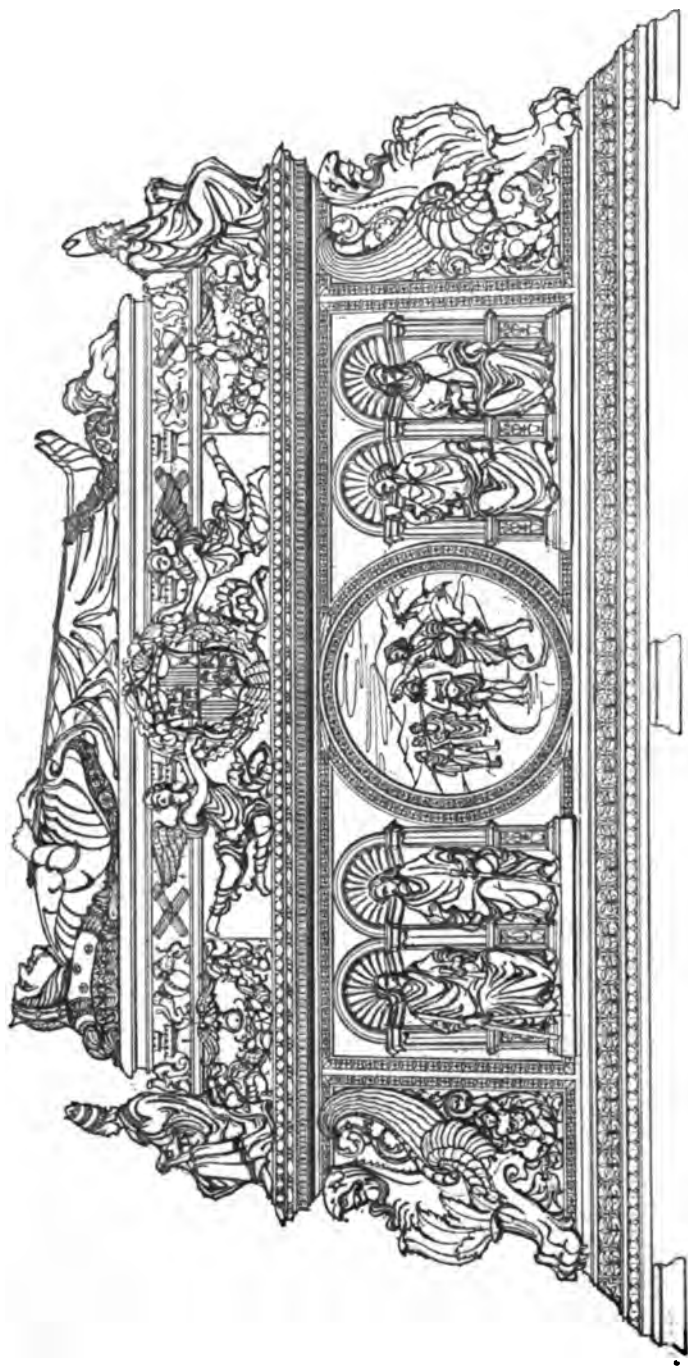
even were they less beautiful, would claim attention first since they are the *raison d'être* of the structure. The finer is that of Ferdinand and Isabella by the Florentine Domenico Fancelli (Plate LIV); the other, of their daughter Joan and her husband Philip (Doña Juana la Loca y Don Felipe el Hermoso), is by the Spaniard Bartolomé Ordóñez. It was

long supposed that this sculptor was the author of the Ferdinand and Isabella tomb because his Carrara testament, unearthed by the Canon Pietro Andrei (see p. 169), reads: "I declare that I am leaving finished the principal part of the sepulcher of the Catholic King and Queen of Spain and that it is packed in its corresponding boxes or chests." Now it happens that the title of "Catholic Kings" bestowed upon Ferdinand and Isabella was not destined to extend to their successors; Ordóñez however appears to have assumed that it would do so and in that wise referred to Joan and Philip whose tomb he was engaged on at the time of his death. Spanish writers continued to take Ordóñez literally until Professor Justi disagreed. He insisted that the Ferdinand and Isabella sarcophagus was Italian and the work of the same sculptor who had made that of their son in Avila; furthermore, that the Joan and Philip tomb so long anonymous was the one made by Ordóñez in Carrara.¹ As this dissenter could offer no documentary grounds for despoiling the Spaniard of the finer tomb, his verdict was not accepted by the Spanish until Don José Martí y Monsó discovered in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid* the contract between the executors of Cardinal Jiménez and the Italian sculptor, which document, as may be seen from the following extracts, settled the Granada matter definitively.

The conditions by which are to be made the sarcophagus and effigy of the Most Reverend Cardinal Fran^{co} Ximenes de Cisneros may he be in glory are the following:

First the sarcophagus and effigy and figures are to be of Carrara marble and said marble is to be as good as that of the sepulchre of Prince Don Juan who now has holy glory which is in Sancto Tomas of Abila and the same as are the effigies of the King and Queen which are in Granada and certainly better if it were possible and not worse; and said marble is to be white [here follow measurements, etc.] and the base is to be well carved and its mouldings are

¹ Estudios sobre el Renacimiento en España, por Carlos Justi, traducidos por Don Francisco Suarez Bravo, Barcelona, 1892.



DRAWING OF THE TOMB OF THE CATHOLIC SOVEREIGNS IN THE CAPILLA REAL, GRANADA.
Domenico Fancelli, Sculptor, 1517.

to be in the antique style . . . and in each corner a griffin very triumphant adorned with its wings and with foliage . . . and the epitaph . . . is to be lettered in the antique style with a compass as such letters are made . . . and the effigy all in one piece . . . all to be well carved as already said and as good as that of the Prince and the King and Queen may they have holy glory and more polished if possible and all to show the experience gained by the master since he made the aforesaid effigies who is the one who is to make this tomb.

The Very Noble and Magnificent Señores Fray F^{co} Ruiz Bishop of Avila and Don F^{co} de Mendoza and the Reverend Señor Doctor Miguel Carrasco Rector of the College and University of Alcalá de Henares executors of the Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Don Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros Cardinal of Spain Archbishop of Toledo who is in glory agree on the aforesaid work with Micer Domenico de Alexandre Florentin for the price of, etc., etc.

Comparing Domenico's Avila and Granada productions one sees that the latter has lost the abstract decorativeness of the former and has become more personal, more Spanish; this not merely because of the ostentation of the national emblems, but because the quality of the sculpture throughout is now assertive and realistic. Fancelli was drifting into the Spanish vein and had he lived to serve the great ones of the land longer, would undoubtedly have become markedly Spaniolized. The smaller figures are in three-quarter relief; corner griffins have all the robustness of the antique; and the effigy of Ferdinand is a piece of searching portraiture; yet despite the intense interest infused into the detail it is always properly subservient to the mass. The whole tomb is less exquisite than Don Juan's, with less of beauty for beauty's sake, but it has other qualities in full measure.

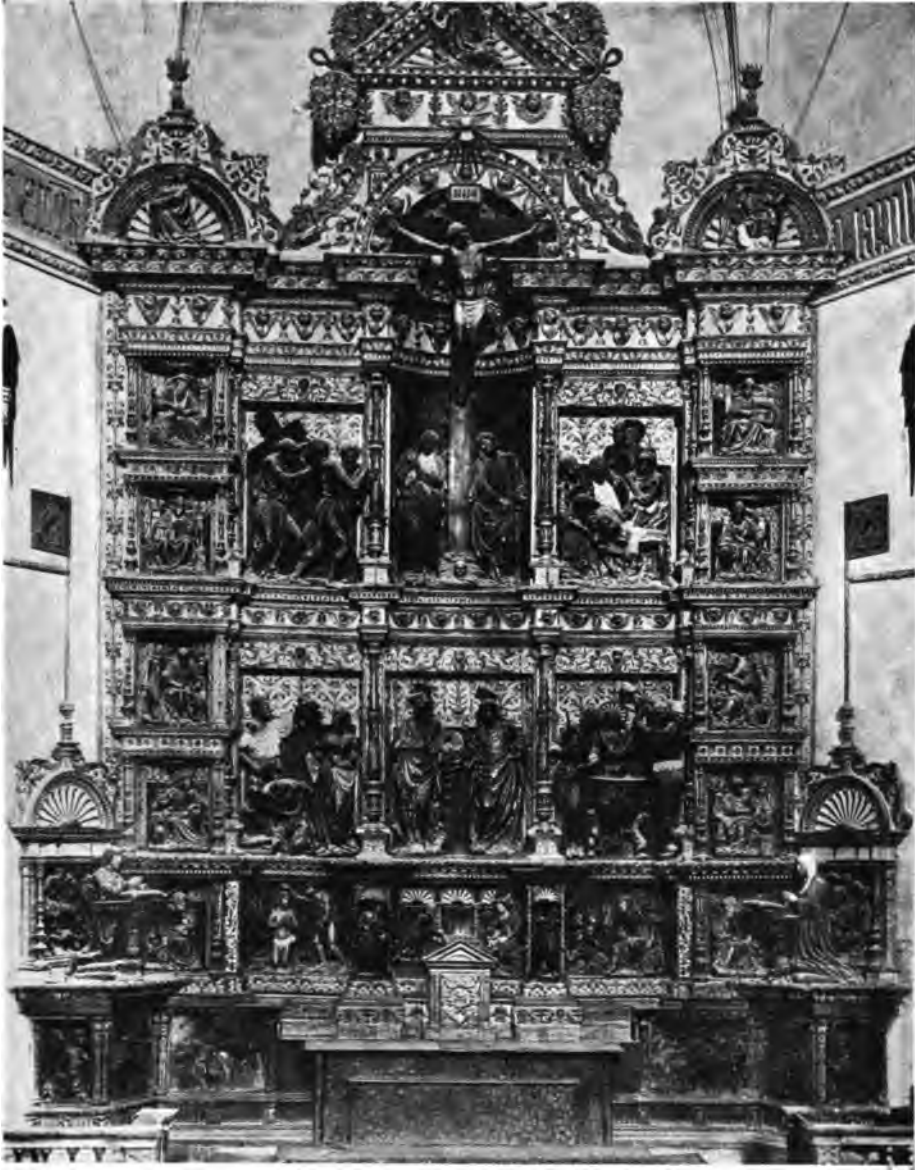
The extent to which the Spaniard Ordóñez was influenced by Fancelli is not surprising considering that he had previously executed the latter's design for the Cisneros tomb, and that furthermore he may have been instructed to make a companion piece to the already completed Catholic Kings' monument. Especially in the detail is the likeness striking (see Fig. 87), Ordóñez's being even finer in certain parts;

but in the composition, where he had to fall back on his own resources in order not to be too imitative, he is distinctly inferior. After constructing a base of identical proportions with the other (though less reposeful in contour) he added a



FIG. 87—Detail from the Tomb of Doña Juana and Don Felipe, Granada.
Bartolomé Ordóñez, 1520.

secondary base above it for the recumbent figures. This stands high out of the lower mass and breaks the outline unpleasantly; and while to Charles V the exalting of his parents may have been flattering, to our modern sense of fitness it is disturbing to find the greater monarchs lying low beside their undistinguished successors. Ordóñez had to leave this commission unfinished and it may consequently represent some



POLYCHROME WOODEN RETABLO IN THE CAPILLA REAL, GRANADA.
Felipe Vigarnt, Sculptor.

divergence (though it would be only slight) from his design¹; nevertheless, all considered, he was hardly as great a sculptor as the splendor of his patrons would warrant one to expect. Excellent as an artizan he lacked the distinct personality that marked some of the lesser known Spanish sculptors. He was, as mentioned, a Burgalese. He appears to have left Burgos early for Italy where he remained several years. In 1518 he returned to Spain and established a *bodega* in Barcelona on the plan of the Genoese. From the cathedral chapter he promptly secured an order to decorate the exterior of the coro with scenes from the life of Santa Eulalia. When in 1518 the Cisneros commission was transferred to him he repaired to Carrara, although the Emperor had to intervene before the canons would consent to his abandoning the Santa Eulalia scenes. The few panels he had completed are much praised but are in reality a perfunctory and academic piece of work in which the artist had not yet found himself. His career did not really begin until he went to Carrara, and it was destined to be very brief for in less than two years death overtook him (1520) and his work had to be completed by various Italian marmorari and shipped to Spain. The royal tomb arrived in Granada about 1526 and as Doña Juana was still living it was stored in the Hospital Real where it lay forgotten until long after her death.

The polychrome wooden retablo of the chapel (Plate LV) is by Felipe de Borgoña (also known as Viguerny, Vigarní, and Vigarín) and is one of the most beautiful of the period. To be sure, the Burgundian's sculpture varies little from that of the Gothicists but his architectural frame shows an advanced knowledge of composition and detail. Polychrome is limited to the statuary, the frame being treated in white and gold. This combination of white and gold is repeated in the marble chancel, the work of an Italian. Another important, and according to many the greatest, work of art to be examined

¹ In the inventory of works left unfinished in Ordóñez's Carrara atelier at the time of his death it is specified that there remained to be made for the royal tomb "diversi pezzi del basamento, il deposito, é due angoli con due figuri de San Michele e di San Giovanni Ev^{ta}" Several of the Ponseca tombs for Coca also occur in the list of incomplete works.

here is the *reja* which divides the transept from the nave. While there is much about it that is Gothic both in design and technique, the embossed pilasters and horizontal bands are exquisite bits of Renaissance design. Particularly interesting as a translation into Renaissance language is the painted and gilded panel above the gates containing the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella and their grandson. The cresting contains some thirty figures more than half life sized and marvelously forged. The *reja* was made in 1523 and is signed by Maestre Bartolomé. This *rejero* did a quantity of work in Jaén and Ubeda (see p. 328).

Hardly had the Capilla Real been started when the canons began to feel that the mosque adjoining it was inadequate for the greatness that had been thrust upon it, so Egas was asked to make plans for a new cathedral. The bishop had to keep nagging at the crown for many years before the corner-stone was actually laid. This was in 1523 and immediately after came the plague; so that by 1528 when Egas was given *congé*¹ by the chapter little more than the foundations had been built. When work was resumed it was under the direction of the young Diego de Siloe who was erecting the Plateresque convent-church of San Jerónimo at the time. Siloe proceeded in the new style. Granada thus claims the earliest cathedral in Renaissance, and built, at that, on Gothic foundations, for Egas had been closely following Toledo Cathedral as is evident in the plan (Fig. 88).

Considering that Siloe agreed to conform to the portions already built the resemblance between Granada and Toledo

¹ No writer appears to know why Egas was dismissed but his path in Granada had never been a smooth one. He had several disagreements with the Majordomo of the Royal Works concerning the Royal Chapel, the Cathedral and the Royal Hospital. Moreover as he had been only three times to Granada during these five years the chapter may have preferred a more attentive architect. His last visit was early in 1528 according to the cathedral archivo of April 2d of that year: "To Master Enrique for twenty-five days consumed in coming from Toledo remaining in Granada and returning to Toledo at five hundred maravedises each day which make twelve thousand five hundred mrs. and twelve thousand five hundred for certain samples and tracings which he made for said church." A few days later the painter Pedro Vasquez was summoned to examine the foundations; whether he influenced the chapter against Gothic and towards Renaissance is not known but certain it is that the work was suspended shortly after.

Cathedrals is natural. Both have a nave and double aisles with a ribbon of chapels between the outer piers, and both are characterized by a semi-circular ambulatory; but while the ambulatory of the Castilian church is double-aisled that of

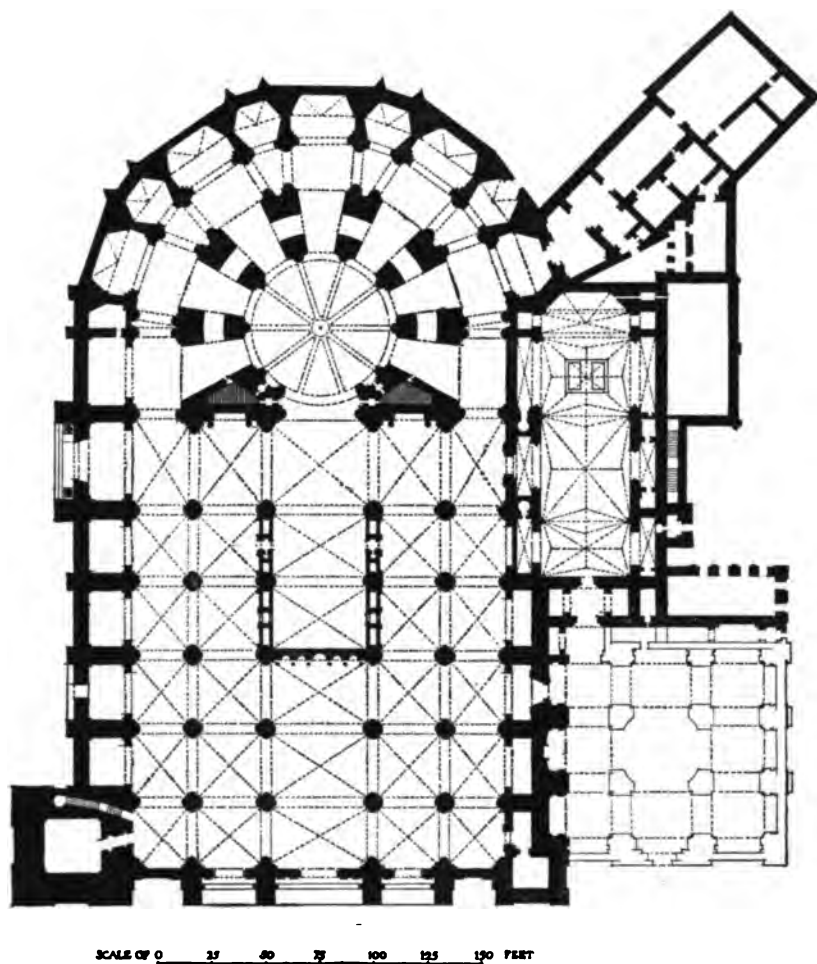


FIG. 88—Plan of Granada Cathedral.

Enrique de Egas and Diego de Siloe, Architects, 1523 et seq.

the Andalusian is single, with the inner aisle space given over to the radiating piers of the dome. A secondary circulation is nevertheless provided by means of openings in the piers. What Siloe did was to expand the semi-decagon of the Toledo

capilla mayor into a full decagon in order to support his dome. To demonstrate how this could be done he started various French and Spanish carvers to work on a model of his project. This had been under way for nearly three years when the Emperor heard of the scheme and commanded that the cathedral should not be built *a lo romano* as that style would be out of harmony with the Gothic Royal Chapel. The chapter thereupon sent Siloe to court "to reply to His Majesty and defend his work and intention." From this errand the architect came back triumphant and the building proceeded rapidly; not to be finished by him however, for the Gothic vaults were not closed in until after 1700.

Given the peculiar circumstances it is to be expected that the Granada Cathedral should be different from the basilica type in Italy and from subsequent examples in Spain where the dome marks the crossing. Imposed on a circular capilla mayor and its contiguous ambulatory it is admirably worked out, but naturally it has lost the logical simplicity of the dome over the crossing. Nevertheless, the successful manner in which this feature was tied into a plan to which it was utterly foreign caused Fergusson to say in his *History of Architecture* that "the cathedral of Granada, is, in respect to its plan, one of the finest churches in Europe." The dome, which is 155 feet high, is supported on two superposed Corinthian orders but the effectiveness of the treatment is unfortunately marred by seventeenth-century decorations. Many perplexing problems naturally developed, such as carrying the spring of the dome over the nave opening and managing the radial piers and openings. In solving such problems Siloe displayed rare skill and a thorough knowledge of classic principles. In the former instance he ingeniously created a proscenium arch with so broad a soffit that the amount eaten into it does not, so far as the eye is concerned, materially weaken it. In the second instance where the radial arches had to conform to the treatment of the capilla mayor on the inner side and to the vaulting arches of the ambulatory on the outer, he has been not merely skillful but has secured an impressiveness hardly less than classic (Fig. 89). Perhaps the only criticism admis-

sible is his manner of vaulting the ambulatory and his placing of the receiving columns. Here was a difficulty which had long beset Gothic architects. Two practical solutions were thrown over for a compromise; the columns could have been



FIG. 89—Ambulatory Arch in Granada Cathedral.
Diego de Siloe, Architect, 1525-63.

so placed that the transverse arches were radial to the dome center, or the main panels opposite the openings could have been parallelograms and the intervening ones triangles. This latter was the method followed in the Gothic vaulting of the ambulatory at Toledo but had Siloe used it his triangles would necessarily have been truncated (see plan, Fig. 88).

The main body of the church (Plate LVI) is dignified in the ensemble but disappointing in detail, most especially in the decadent Gothic vaulting. For this Siloe is not responsible

for the building dragged on into the eighteenth century. It is probable that his design for the nave piers was followed, however, and while they are wholly classic and most impressive, they lack certain niceties; the pier entablature supporting



FIG. 90—Exterior of Granada Cathedral.
Diego de Siloe, Architect, 1525-63.

the arches, for instance, a feature which both classic and Renaissance architects in Italy gradually diminished and finally eliminated, is here overpoweringly heavy. Aside from this the great Corinthian piers are noble enough. They are composed of four half-columns with three minor breaks at the corners. The high pedestal with semicircular faces following the section of the shaft carries down the lines with true Gothic solidity. This pier is far superior to that of the cathedral of Malaga designed by the same architect and where the pillars are two orders in height.

Exteriorly Granada Cathedral presents a heterogeneous aspect due to the long duration of its building and the number of artists employed. Siloe is directly responsible for the ambulatory and dome, for the Puerta del Perdón, and, along with Maeda, the Puerta de San Jerónimo. As seen from the narrow surrounding *calles* the mighty dome plays a rather inconspicuous part as is apparent in Fig. 90. Siloe's hand is evident up to the actual tiled roof from which point all architecturality ceases. While not conforming to or expressing

1265 1330
1330 1600

PLATE LVI



INTERIOR OF GRANADA CATHEDRAL.
Diego de Siloe, Architect, 1525-63.

the interior it is nevertheless admirable in its substantiality and interesting in the disposition and design of its buttresses; a similar arrangement can be better studied in the church of San Jerónimo. In the carving of the two portals mentioned, over which Siloe's countrymen wax most enthusiastic, the stranger is apt to experience some disappointment. The architectural forms are none too good to begin with and are moreover reduced to insipidity by a profuse amount of meaningless detail. All the ornament is characterized by a disturbing disparity in scale. It is improbable that Siloe did much of the actual cutting here; but the design, which really was his, has lost the decorative and spontaneous quality to be seen in his early *escalera dorada* in Burgos Cathedral.

Diego de Siloe may be further examined in various edifices in the city (though in by no means all that are ascribed to him and for which his pupils are largely responsible). His best known work is that on which he was engaged when called to the cathedral, San Jerónimo. Here again he was not the architect from the beginning. Jacopo the Florentine, of Murcia fame, is known to have worked here, and the cloisters of the monastery and the foundations of the church were well started when Siloe intervened. Shortage of funds had been holding back the building until the widow of Gonsalvo de Córdoba, *El Gran Capitan*, offered to pay for its completion if the Emperor would assign its capilla mayor as the mausoleum for her distinguished husband. It was then, 1525, that Siloe was called in and at once started on the capilla mayor and transept. From the exterior these form the only note of interest and while presenting nothing new structurally, the buttresses, the bald square end of the transept, and the crucero, build up into a very impressive ensemble (Fig. 91). What small merit the interior ever had has been submerged under ugly eighteenth-century decorations. In the small western, or coro, gallery (now closed because of threatened collapse) is a fine but by no means incomparable sillería carved by Siloe; and in the adjoining monastery, now a cavalry barracks, are several doorways. Only one of them—the entrance to the tower—is good. The panels of its splayed

sides are filled with typical Siloe arabesques, but in the reveal of the arch above are some excellent busts. The remaining doors attributed to him are difficult to appreciate owing to repeated and heavy coats of paint; but it is immediately



FIG. 91—Cimborio of the Convent of San Jerónimo, Granada.
Diego de Siloe, Architect.

evident that they are as mannered in their way as are the Francisco de Colonia portals in the Burgos region. Always the same archway flanked by pilasters, the same ornamental frieze, and over the cornice the same flattened motif consisting of a medallion head in the center supported by scrolls and terminated by winged griffins. This disposition may be seen in innumerable doors and windows throughout the city, faithfully adhered to by all Siloe's disciples. On the whole, Diego de Siloe, son of one of the greatest Gothic sculptors

of Spain, is not the accomplished ornamentalist his compatriots claim.¹ His sculpture never attains that vitality which one grows to demand of Spanish work. Technique aside, sculpture when it adorns a building ought to be as carefully



FIG. 92—Entrance to the Casa Castril, Granada.
Attributed to Diego de Siloe.

proportioned as any other architectural embellishment, and here again Siloe is at fault as witness the incongruous grouping in his Puerta del Perdón. For his successful imposing of the noble Renaissance dome on the Gothic plan of the cathedral, however, he is entitled to rank with the masters of the

¹ Not his countrymen only, for Professor Justi, usually so reserved in his appreciations, says: "The worthiest and most imaginative development of the style [Grotesque] is shown in the works of Diego de Siloe on the north side of the cathedral at Granada which are characterized by an inexhaustible fancy, a rhythmical stream of movement, a unity of general effect combined with a constant flux of motives, and ebullient vitality."

century; but in the rest of his Granada work, for he was kept busy erecting dwellings for Spaniards who had received emoluments under the new régime, he was merely a high class commercial architect, of precisely that type which would attract a large following. No one can question this statement after examining such specimens of his work as the Casa Castril. The house at Number 11 Cuchilleros is also accredited to him but is not at all characteristic. The first mentioned, which is very extensive inside, has only a small façade and this covered with ornament (Fig. 92). The chief motifs are the doorway and the corner window of the second story. All the detail is coarse and presents that same lack of scale noticeable in the Puerta del Perdón. Siloe by no means dropped out of Castilian affairs after coming to Granada for he is known to have entered several competitions along with Covarrubias, Vigarní, and others working in Toledo. His repute was high throughout Andalusia where he was called upon to design the cathedral of Malaga and was appointed visiting architect to Seville Cathedral at eighty ducats for an annual visit of fifteen consecutive days. He died in his Granada house (still preserved) in 1563 "very rich, owning houses, slaves, jewels, silver and precious stones, which went to the Hospital de San Juan de Dios and other religious institutions, not omitting the cathedral of his native city Burgos."

The remaining Plateresque monument of importance in Granada is the Hospital Real de Dementes, a combined insane and infant asylum which Enrique de Egas began in 1511. It had been commissioned long before and the following quaint inscription in one of the patios gives an idea of its slow progress: "*Fernando y Isabel los Reyes Católicos* ordered the building of this house from the foundations up although their death prevented them from arriving at the roof but *Carlos Quinto el Emperador Invencible y Rey de todas las Españas* their grandson ordered that the work should be continued and this part was finished in the year of Our Lord 1536 in the which by the grace of the Lord the Emperor took by force the city and kingdom of Tunis and punished the violence and piracy of the Africans." The fact is that Egas had com-

pleted only the first story when Ferdinand's death (1516) put a stop to the work. When the "Invincible Emperor" resumed it another architect was appointed. Juan García de Pradas, Egas's successor, also built the Gothic southeast



FIG. 93—Portal to the Capilla Real, Granada.
Juan García de Pradas, Architect, ca. 1520.

portal of the Capilla Real (Fig. 93) and the charming little Lonja alongside of it (Fig. 94). On the hospital he appears to have made some attempt to work in Egas's style, hence the four Lombard windows of the second story; but some claim that these are due to Juan García's having worked at La-calahorra rather than to his having followed Enrique's original drawings. The marble entrance is a perfunctory piece of seventeenth-century work and it is this lack of a portal comparable either to the Toledo or Santiago hospital that most

dissociates the façade from the first Renaissance architect. Inside, one is immediately aware of him in the long perspective of the north and south arms of the cross which now serve as a vast hall leading to modern buildings at the rear. The east



FIG. 94—The Lonja, Granada.
Juan García de Pradas, Architect, 1518-22.

and west arms have been recently walled up and are used as a refectory and a school, for the building at present holds some nine hundred inmates. Such use, with the exception of the walling up, may be no great departure from the original intention for these arms were provided from the beginning with windows on both front and rear patios, whereas the great circulating north and south hall has none. The crossing is covered with ribbed vaulting over the first story but on the second is left open to the lofty cupola. Here it was formerly that the altar was placed;—not an enclosed chapel but a free-standing altar with the arms of the cross left open so that the sick might hear mass from all sides. The magnificent

artesonados of the arms, all left undecorated, were made by the maestro carpintero Juan de Plasencia. Of the four patios the two on the east or right side of the building are bare of all treatment, but were to have been provided with arcaded walks; that on the west front was the finest of all but only the marble columns, arches, and frieze were ever completed. There is more knowledge of Renaissance principles displayed here than in Egas's earlier patios but the detail is so poor and spiritless that one apprehends at a glance that the fertile and capricious maestro gave it but little of his personal attention. The patio to the rear of this, and the only one finished, is even poorer; according to the date in the inscription already quoted, it was decorated long after Egas had ceased to direct the work and there is nothing about it that even suggests his designing. It seems, then, that so far as he was concerned there is little more than the cruciform plan of the Granada hospital to be considered.

CHAPTER X

THE ROYAL PALACE AT GRANADA AND PROVINCIAL WORK

PEDRO DE MACHUCA RECOMMENDED TO THE EMPEROR—CLASSIC PLAN OF THE PALACE AND ITS AWKWARD ADJUSTMENT TO DOMESTIC NEEDS—VARIOUS INTERRUPTIONS TO THE WORK—THE SOUTHERN OR SECONDARY PORTAL BY MACHUCA—THE WESTERN OR PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE BY HIS SON—THE CIRCULAR PATIO—DOMESTIC WORK IN GRANADA—TWO KINDS OF WOODEN CEILINGS—CEILING IN THE EMPEROR'S APARTMENTS IN THE ALHAMBRA—TILED STAIRCASES—PEBBLE MOSAICS—THE MENDOZA CASTLE AT LACALAHORRA—ITS STAIRCASE AS A POSSIBLE INSPIRATION TO ENRIQUE DE EGAS—JAÉN AND THE WORK OF ANDRÉS VANDELVIRA—VANDELVIRA'S CHURCH OF SAN SALVADOR IN UBEDA—SILLERÍA IN THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA—PALACES IN UBEDA—THE AYUNTAMIENTO OR CITY HALL OF BAEZA—THE BENAVENTE PALACE

CHAPTER X

THE ROYAL PALACE AT GRANADA AND PROVINCIAL WORK

PEDRO MACHUCA was the architect chosen when Charles V decided to build within the precincts of the Alhambra. Two men more opposite than the popular Siloe down in the town and the reserved Machuca who lived and worked up on the hill could hardly be imagined. Machuca was architect, painter, and sculptor, and had studied in Italy "beside the divine Rafael da Urbino and was the first to bring to Spain the maxims of the Renaissance in all their classic purity" according to the authoritative Granadino Don Manuel Gómez Moreno. No one gives Machuca's birthplace but from 1524 he was residing in Granada and carving retablos. The Conde de Tendilla, for whom he was standard-bearer, recommended him to the Emperor, and although the young man appears to have had no previous architectural experience, he was immediately accepted and instructed to plan a Renaissance palace to be erected adjacent to the Moorish. (In this connection it must be remembered that Charles, although enamored of Italian art and a lavish patron of Titian, never once harbored the thought of bringing an Italian architect to Spain.)

The cost of the new structure was to be defrayed by the Moriscos (baptized Moors) in return for royal permission to retain their turbans. To accommodate the project a portion of the Alhambra was destroyed, if not by the Emperor's command, at least with his consent. Charles is reported to have rebuked the cathedral chapter of Córdoba, only a short time before, for erecting a Plateresque coro in the center of their thousand-pillared mosque. "You have built what you

or others might have built anywhere," he told them, "but you have destroyed something that was unique in the world." Yet in this same year he altered the Alcázar of Seville (in which he was married to Isabella of Portugal) and removed a part of the Alhambra. The Arab and the Renaissance shoulder each other in most incongruous fashion, and though the latter is a splendid piece of architecture it can never appear otherwise than as an intruder within the precincts of the acropolis. However, some justify its royal builder by stating that he erected the new palace in order to save the old from the modifications necessary to convert it into a European residence.

The royal palace was never completed. Pedro Machuca died in 1550 leaving it in the hands of his able son Luis; but the annual tribute money which had kept it going ceased when the Moriscos rebelled in 1568, and from then on the work was taken up only in desultory fashion and by less skillful architects. After the completion of the magnificent colonnaded patio in Philip III's reign (1616) building operations practically stopped. It is said that the wealthy Duc de Montpensier, before fixing upon Seville as his residence in the last century, offered to buy and complete the royal palace of Granada. The fact that his offer was declined is still regretted by the Granadinos since their city lost thereby the immense fortune spent in, and bequeathed to, the rival Andalusian capital. From the artistic point of view, however, there is nothing to lament in the fact that the palace has remained in impoverished hands, for it is vastly more impressive unfinished. It is primarily a monument. The composition of the plan (Fig. 95), particularly of the circular patio, is based on Roman traditions; and while the scheme is of noble simplicity, the elements that build up a fine amphitheater are ill-suited for domestic architecture. It was in Machuca's efforts to harmonize the two that certain weaknesses developed in his design; such are the corner staircases with their cramped approaches, and the medieval chapel tower so inharmonious and out of scale. Furthermore he appears to have been embarrassed to accommodate interior



SOUTH PORTAL OF CHARLES V'S PALACE ON THE ALHAMBRA HILL,
GRANADA.

Pedro Machuca, Architect, 1526 et seq.

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walls to fenestration; many of them butt square against window openings, and apparently there was no intention of concealing this clumsiness by blind openings; some more superficial trick

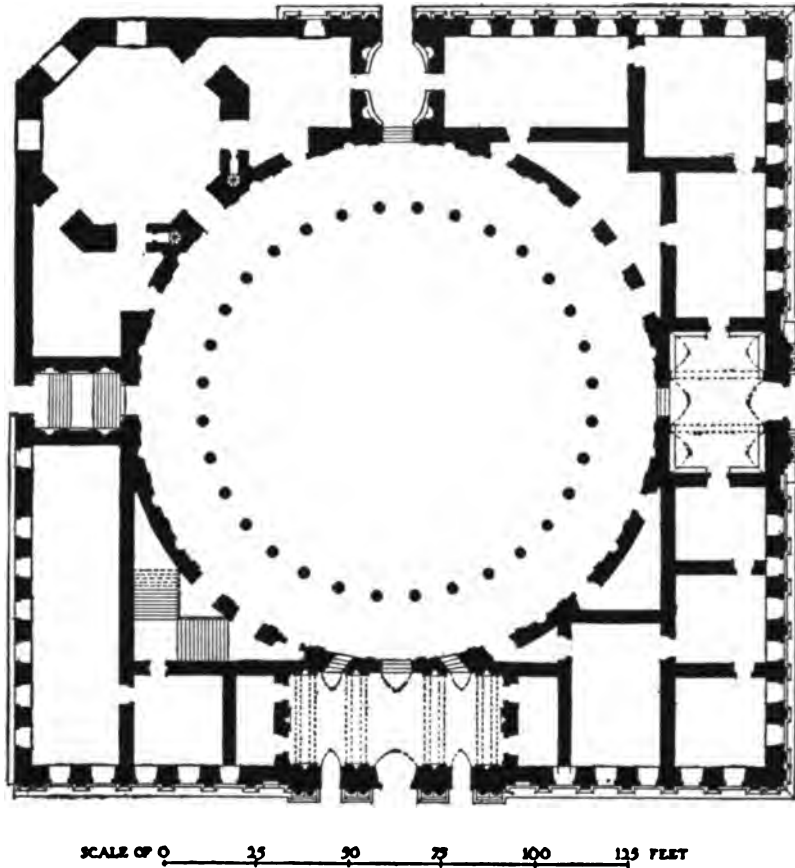


FIG. 95—Plan of the Palace of Charles V at Granada.
Pedro Machuca, Architect, 1526.

was to be resorted to. In short the palace, though admirably bold in idea, lacks nicety and finesse of plan.

Yellowish sandstone from the Sierra Nevada supplied the material for the façade, along with marble from the Sierra de Elvira for the portals and patio columns. The scheme is a two-storied quadrangle 207 feet square, enclosing a circular court. The exterior is a combining of classic and Renaissance styles, the former found in the two principal portals, the

latter in the Florentine rustication of the lower story and the Roman palace windows of the upper. During the quarter of a century which Machuca devoted to the building he completed the extensive subterranean vaulting and the main

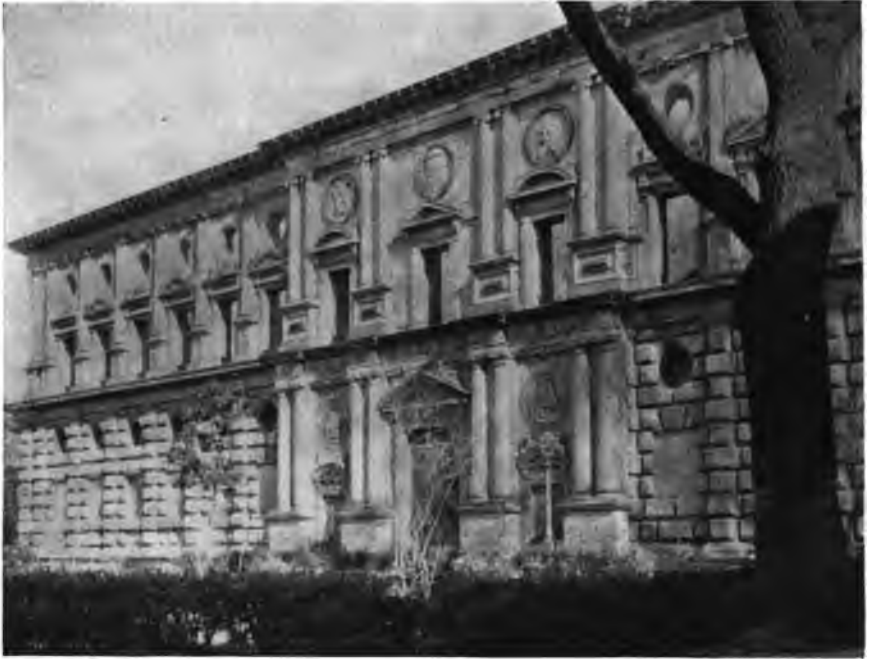


FIG. 96—West Façade of Charles V's Palace at Granada.
Pedro Machuca, Architect, 1526 et seq.

walls, exterior and interior. This does not include the portals, however, of which only a portion of the south entrance was by him. Machuca's son, following his father's design, built the first or Doric stage of the imposing circular court and most of the octagonal chapel; he also finished his father's south door and began the main or west entrance. Of his work the most admirable is the annular vaulting of the patio. The main entrance which he began suffers at the outset from the squareness of its proportions and the very obvious uselessness of the diminutive door each side of the main. The fault may not be the original designer's, for when work was resumed after the Morisco outbreak, Juan de Herrera, Philip II's

official architect, ordered his pupil Juan de Mijares to continue this main entrance; between them they altered lamentably Machuca's design. After another long interruption one of the four projected staircases was built (1635) and very poorly adjusted to the angle destined to receive it. This was the last touch; the roof including the chapel dome that was to tower above all the buildings on the Alhambra hill was never finished; the triumphal arch springing from the southwest corner likewise remained only on paper. It will be readily seen that this much checkered enterprise in which so many, and often unsympathetic, hands intervened does not offer favorable opportunity to judge this first Spanish architect who had studied in Italy. But his detail of cornice moulds, his triglyph frieze with alternating skull and rosette motif, and above all his two portals give ample evidence of how abundantly he had imbibed the spirit of Italy.

Of these imposing entrances the southern or secondary (Plate LVII), executed under himself and his son, may rank as the best piece of Greco-Romano-Renaissance in Spain—the best, indeed, outside of Italy. A Fleming, Antonio de Leval, and an Italian, Nicoló da Corte, executed the sculpture of the lower portion; and for the upper this last named arranged with Machuca in 1548 to carry out his drawings. It appears to be his work although it is known that he tried to let out the contract in Genoa. The pedestals of the columns are ornamented with bas-reliefs in the manner of the antique, but instead of the customary classic trophies, Christian, Arabic, and Turkish ones, all reminiscent of the Emperor's conquests, have been substituted. Machuca's tendency to set the orders on too high a pedestal is particularly noticeable here, but what few defects the door may have are mitigated by the excellent sculpture. A further illustration of the master's close knowledge of the antique are the archaic tapered pilasters at the sides, probably the only instance of their use in Spain.

The western or principal entrance begun by Luis Machuca and finished by Herrera's pupil is inferior to the southern in composition. The only noteworthy sculpture is that of the

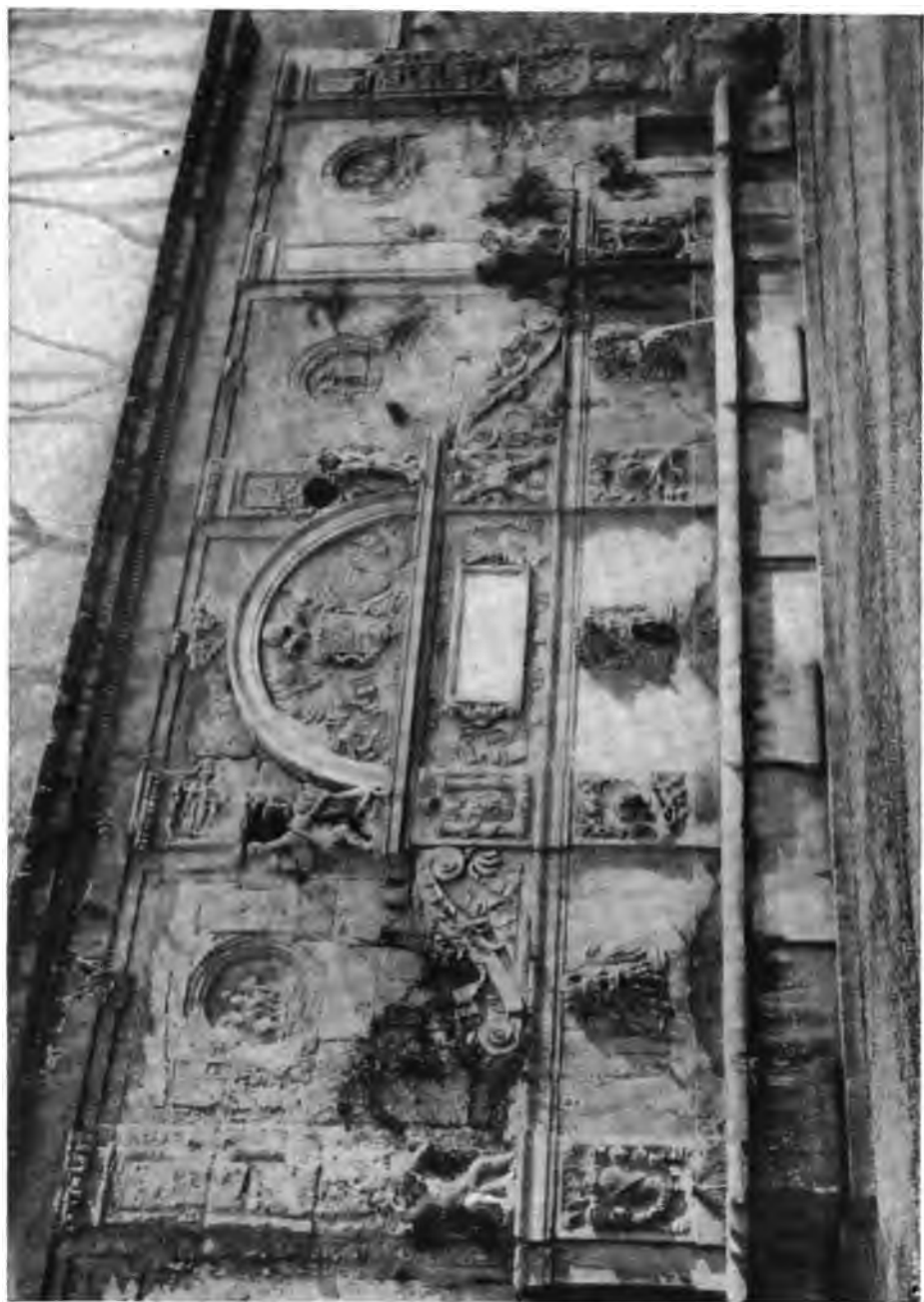
battle scenes on the lower pedestals, one of them supposed to be Pavia where Charles V took Francis I prisoner. The



FIG. 97—Patio of Charles V's Palace, Granada.

Designed by Pedro Machuca in 1526, and built by his son Luis.

Fleming Leval made these reliefs, while Juan de Cubillana (whose nationality is not stated in the records) made the Della Robbia swags, classic mouldings, and ornamentation in the architrave. The carving of the upper portion of the door is by Andrés de Ocampo. Nothing here has the sentiment of the sculpture nor the archaic quality of the tapered



FOUNTAIN OF CHARLES V IN THE ALAMEDA DE LA ALHAMBRA, GRANADA.
By Pedro Machuca, 1545.

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pilasters on the south portal, but the detail throughout shows Machuca's classic designing.

The interior of the palace is less coherent than the exterior. Only the circular patio and the four approaches were ever completed and of these only the patio (Fig. 97) is really noteworthy. It is perfectly academic and therefore not Spanish but it is well proportioned and extremely well detailed. The stone construction is admirable, especially the annular vaulting of the lower story which is a continuous unfeathered elliptical vault. The span between the columns is made by a flat arch of three keystones resting on a huge block over the columns. The upper story is unroofed but it is evident from the holes left in the masonry that the ceiling was to be of wooden beam construction. It is a testimony to the endurance of good masonry that the interior has suffered no dilapidation during the centuries it has stood open to the sky. This imposing monument remained a detached piece of classic architecture in Spain giving nothing to the classic movement initiated later by Bartolomé Bustamante in the Hospital Afuera of Toledo (1541). Machuca also designed the fine fountain near the Emperor's palace (Plate LVIII) and the entrance gate to the Alameda.

Turning from the palace on the hill to the typical domestic work down in the city, there is nothing remarkable architecturally in the *casas particulares* which all too soon replaced the Moorish ones distributed by the conquering sovereigns among their followers. The new homes were designated by contemporary writers as *casas castellanas* because built for Castilians, but in most respects they clung to Moorish building traditions. To say that Siloe was architect of a house meant that a stereotyped Siloe door and window were inserted into a plain stucco façade; the inside was a mere haphazard assembly of rooms conforming to a plot more often irregular than not, and with patio corresponding. There was no nicer sense of plan here than elsewhere in Spain yet the interiors, like those of Seville, are well worth studying for certain decorative features. Of wooden ceilings in particular there is great abundance. These are of two distinct kinds, peaked

with open construction and ornamented tie-pieces, and flat with richly carved coffer (Figs. 98 and 99). The peaked is exclusively Moorish but the flat may be either Moorish or Spanish—either small units arranged in geometric patterns,

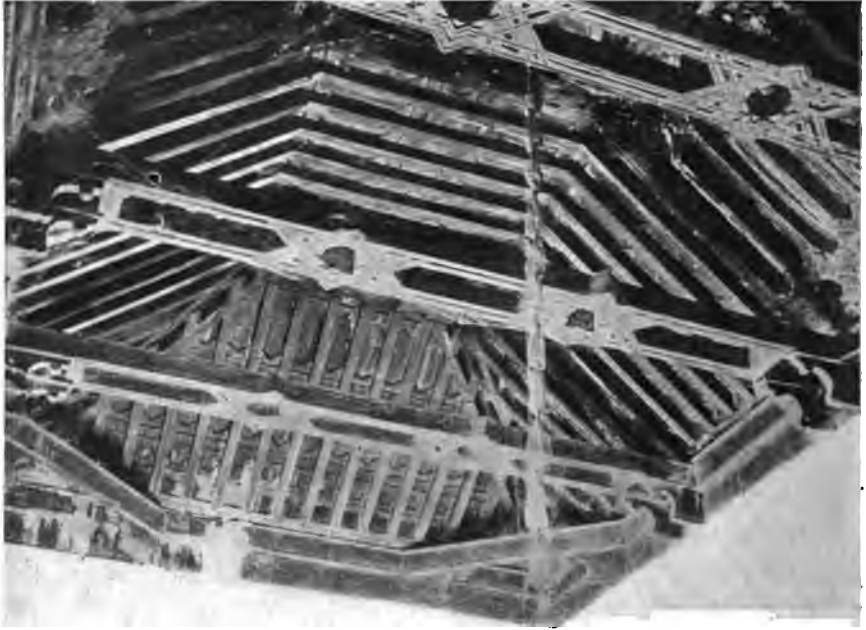


FIG. 98—Ceiling in the House of Luis de Córdova, Granada.

Dated 1592.

or polygonal coffers ornamented in Renaissance. It is the peaked ceiling which is most often met, not only in Granada but throughout Andalusia, and as it is simple in construction it is very adaptable for modern use. The room it covers is usually twice as long as wide since squarer proportions would bring the hipped ends too close together. The top of the peak is truncated into a long flat panel and across the face of this the rafters pass in a continuous line; where they meet each other at the hipped corners the actual intersection is visible between the double hip-rafters as may be seen in Fig. 98. Underneath runs a diagonal cross-piece not necessary structurally, but merely an interesting survival of the old Moorish canted corner supported by stalactites. The chief



CEILING IN THE COUNCIL ROOM OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO VIEJO,
GRANADA.

feature of this type of ceiling is the elaborate coupled tie-pieces (although in Córdoba twisted iron rods were preferred). The coupled tie-pieces always rest on carved corbels and are about 14 inches on center. In smaller examples they are left unconnected while in larger they are united at intervals by cabinet patterning. Great refinement is imparted to the beams by beading and scoring the soffit. A more effective result from a simple process could hardly be imagined, for by truncating the peak and featuring the hip, the two ungainly passages of the ordinary open roof are happily overcome. An excellent example of this type may be seen in the Mudéjar Casa Chapiz, but it has lately been pierced by the chimney of the bakery below. In the front salon of the now dismantled palace of Luis de Córdoba is another (Fig. 98) still complete, but open to the sky in many places and therefore discolored by the rain that trickles through. Both these houses were built about 1590. The best preserved example, although dating back to Moorish days, is in the Casa del Cabildo Antiguo or Ayuntamiento Viejo (now a warehouse), opposite the Royal Chapel (Plate LIX). This is one of the few treated in color. The decoration was added after the conquest in 1492 when the Catholic Kings decided to use the building, which had been the Moorish University, for civic purposes. A great number of these ceilings have disappeared of late years and those that remain are in sad need of repair.

The flat paneled ceiling, as already stated, is of two varieties, Moorish and Spanish. Of these the one built up of complex Moorish cabinet work is out of the realm of modern carpentry and, indeed, ceased to be made in Spain when there were no more Moriscos left to patiently put it together. As to the coffered ceiling whose combination of Renaissance design with Moorish carpentería makes the most interesting of all types, it is not specially Granadine, but is met with everywhere in Spain and has already been described. The finest specimens in Granada are in those apartments of the Alhambra which were made over for the occupation of the Emperor pending the erection of his new palace. These *aposentos de Carlos Quinto* (one of which was later occupied

by Washington Irving) were unorientalized by removing their *ysería* and *carpintería* and putting in Renaissance ceilings and "linen-fold" shutters and doors. The ceilings are said to have been designed by the royal architect Pedro



FIG. 99—Ceiling in the Apartments Remodeled for Charles V in the Moorish Alhambra, Granada.

Machuca, and executed by the same Juan de Plasencia who made the splendid but badly lighted series in the Hospital Real. In both buildings they are of reddish pine, undecorated, save for one unimportant example in the royal suite. The most purely Spanish of all (Fig. 99) is in the Washington Room (named for Washington Irving). It rests on a delicate Renaissance frieze supported on small modillions. The panels are deeply coffered octagons with flat portrait heads in the soffits. Perhaps the most skillful part of the design is the flat square panel between the octagons, which is left unmoulded and is filled with a beautifully carved acanthus scroll.

Old tiles, even a few with metallic luster, can still be found



CEILING IN THE EMPEROR'S APARTMENTS IN THE MOORISH PALACE OF THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA.

in the most ancient Granada houses but appear to be less numerous than in Seville. Nevertheless they form the principal material for floors, wainscoting, and staircases. In the last mentioned one frequently finds the following practical



FIG. 100—Window by Jacopo Florentino, Cathedral of Murcia.

and interesting application: The tiles of the tread are held in place by a heavy wooden nosing and are so arranged that every third or fourth unit is a colored azulejo set in a field of red tile or brick; the tiles of the riser sometimes carry out the same scheme though more often, this being the protected portion, it is entirely of azulejos; and the treatment of the landing is generally a simple red field enclosed in a border of colored azulejos. The diversity of effects obtained by this simple process is surprising. A Toledo stair of the foregoing type is illustrated in Plate IV. Another material interestingly used in vestibules, patios, and garden paths is the small egg-shaped stones from the river bed. These, black and white,

are laid in bold patterns with heraldic beasts and escutcheons predominating, especially the double-headed eagle.

Earlier than, but without exerting the least influence on, the Granadine school, was the beautiful Italian work done in the castle of Lacalahorra some forty miles east of the city. This *castillo*, the last to be built in Spain, was the home of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza. Immediately after the conquest this nobleman had been created Marquis del Zenete by Ferdinand and Isabella, and was charged to keep the Moriscos of his new possessions in order; but before he had time to build himself a residence in his marquisate he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign by kidnapping the noble Maria de Fonseca from the royal nunnery of Las Huelgas, near Burgos. Hence it may have been as much for the purpose of resisting royal authority as Moorish uprisings that he resorted to defensive architecture. The exterior offers nothing of interest to a student of Renaissance. It is a massive rectangle accentuated at the corners by sturdy round towers and with a large wing thrown out from one side. The stones are roughly dimensioned and the masonry crude. There is but one entrance, a simple round-arched opening with thick wooden doors plated and studded with iron. The plan (Fig. 101) is Spanish—patio and claustral stair accompanied by the usual plethora of large and similar salons and the usual non-emphasis on domestic or service apartments. The lower floor was given over to the retainers and above were the large family salons. These are covered with coarse wooden ceilings, have a few marble chimney-pieces, and a poor Palladian motif in the *salón de justicia* (whence many a recalcitrant Morisco was dragged to the oubliettes below). The surprise is that in the midst of this rude exterior and unstudied interior is a beautiful patio and stair-loggia treated in the Italian style. Here we have the taste of the owners revealed to us, for Don Rodrigo was deeply versed in Latin culture and his wife was a Fonseca from Coca, niece of the Bishop of Burgos. In fact a Latin inscription on one of the Fonseca shields in the patio reads *munus uxoris* (the gift of the wife) and it may be that Doña Maria herself was the one who ordered the



STAIRWAY OF THE CASTILLO DE LACALAHORRA.
Michele Carlone of Genoa, Architect, 1508-12.

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embellishments. The architect (at least of the patio) was Michele Carlone of Genoa. Carlone's name is associated in Genoa with the gallery in the Palazzo Fornari (1497) and the portal of the Palazzo Pallavicini (1503). At Lacalahorra

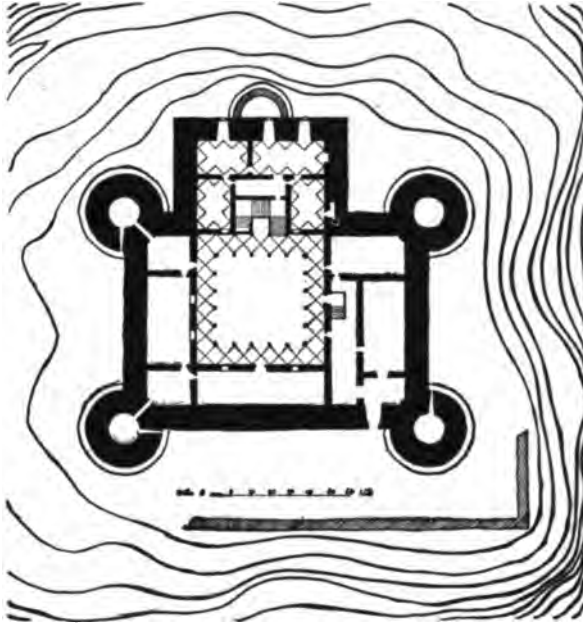


FIG. 101—Sketch Plan of the Mendoza Castle at Lacalahorra.

he not only had assisting countrymen on the spot but sent back many drawings of balustrades, capitals, cornices, etc., to be executed in the busy marble yards of Carrara. A year after the work began, more sculptors, most of them Lombards, were brought to Lacalahorra and their presence may explain the fact that the detail of the upper story of the patio is superior to that of the earlier portion.

It was natural that the Genoese should endow this castle with one of those sumptuous stairways such as were highly developed in their own city to meet the exigencies of its hill-side palaces. It is grand in proportions and simple in detail (Plate LXI). Walls are carried up only to the principal story where it opens out into a vast circulating area, the whole

occupying the greater part of a wing specially built to receive it. It is this feature that has been cited as the possible inspiration of Enrique de Egas's effective but clumsily constructed Toledo stairway built by order of Don Rodrigo's father.



FIG. 102—Patio of the Castillo de Lacalahorra.
Michele Carlone of Genoa, Architect, 1508-12.

The Lacalahorra balusters are good in profile, double-bellied in form, and constructed unit for unit in the Italian manner. In the doorways are further reminders of the Santa Cruz hospital. One of the best leads from the stair landing at the mezzanine level; the ornament employed in its pilaster panels and frieze is of purely Italian conventionality, and as the ornament of the Santa Cruz entrance has not yet branched out towards that realism which became characteristic of the later Plateresque, one is further inclined to believe that Egas may have seen this Lacalahorra example. The staircase wing is a prolongation of the patio on an axis transverse to the purely military portion of the castle and gives the impression of a secondary idea worked out within the primary structure



WEST FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL OF JAÉN.
Andrés de Vandelvira, Architect, begun in 1532.

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(explained perhaps by the Fonseca inscription, "the gift of the wife"). It is this transverse unit of wing and patio that is Italian, not only in decoration but in actual structural methods such as vaulted instead of beamed ceilings. Both stories of the patio are faced with semicircular arches (Fig. 102). The columns of the upper are pure Florentine Corinthian but those of the lower are cruder and their capitals made excessively heavy by a superfluous band above the necking. The cloister walks have groined vaulting supported, where it springs from the wall, on pilaster capitals. In the flat elliptical vaulting of the loggia and the rooms surrounding the stairway at the mezzanine, the ceiling is made interesting by little penetrations at the spring. All this vaulting is held in by the iron tie-rods so common in Italy but so unusual in Spain. The most admirable work aside from that already described is to be found in the half dozen entrances leading into the salons. These are of varying merit, detail being generally superior to design; but there is one (Fig. 103), to the *Salón de los Marqueses*, which is exceptionally fine with charming niched figures at the sides that recall similar motifs in the Malatesta Chapel at Rimini. After all the art and wealth expended to produce this oasis on the bleak mountain side, the castle was inhabited only for eight years, from 1512-20, since when it has been left to fall to pieces. Except for the echo of its stair in far-off Toledo (and this may be accidental) this walled-in bit of Italian art stands quite apart from Spanish Plateresque.

The province of Jaén north of Granada has three towns in which the Renaissance made a notable showing—Jaén, Ubeda, and Baeza, the last two being only five miles apart. Jaén, once capital of the Moorish Kingdom of Jayyán but now a small town, has an unduly magnificent cathedral at the base of a bare African-looking rock; Ubeda contains several churches and crumbling palaces, and Baeza is famed for its city hall. The first place will be recalled in connection with Maestre Bartolomé of Jaén who made the superb *reja* in the royal chapel in Granada, and who left in these less known places a great amount of interesting ironwork. The Renais-

sance Cathedral of Jaén was begun in 1532 and dragged on until the end of the eighteenth century. It belongs to the Granada-Malaga group, and the most eminent architect associated with it was Andrés de Vandelvira, follower of



FIG. 103—Doorway in Upper Story of Patio, Castillo de Lacalahorra.
By Michele Carlone of Genoa, 1508-12.

Diego de Siloe. The handsome sacristy and chapter room are plainly his but the rest of the church is difficult to identify. The structure while perfunctory is a noble one (Plate LXII) and the exterior, even that part of it built in the seventeenth century, fortunately managed to maintain a certain classic purity and consistency, as if the wilder ways into which architecture was then falling did not penetrate into this remote corner of Andalusia.



SILLERÍA IN THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA, UBEDA.

By Juan de Reolid and Luis de Aguila.

11

One can better study Andrés de Vandelvira in Ubeda where he built for Don Francisco de los Cobos, a native of that city and secretary to the Emperor Charles V, the opulent church of San Salvador. Don Manuel Gómez Moreno who deserves the credit of unearthing all that is known of this architect and dissociating him from Pedro Valdevira (who probably never existed) suggests that Andrés went to Italy in the service of a relative of the imperial secretary. If so he was more preoccupied, and this is true of most Spaniards who went to Italy, with what he saw there in the field of decoration than in architecture *per se*. The church of San Salvador shows two distinct influences: unpretending local traditions in the apse and tower; and rich Granadine in the west façade and transept entrances. Indeed, the west portal might have been bodily removed from Granada—arched opening with soffit of paneled saints, huge figures in the spandrels, draped columns at the side with niches between, and pictorial relief over all. In the same spirit of imitation is the ornament—equal and monotonous diffusion recalling Siloe's Puerta del Perdón. For the interior arrangement Vandelvira borrowed directly from Siloe and placed his dome over the apse; while the remainder of the church with its western gallery and poor late Gothic vaulting follows the same master's church of San Jerónimo. Why a man who appreciated the excellence of Siloe's dome and carried it out so well should also have turned to the inferior ceiling of San Jerónimo for inspiration is difficult to under-



FIG. 104—Custodia in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Jaén.

stand, unless Siloe's name then as now cast a magic spell over the Spaniard's critical faculty. There is good carving in the *sillería* of the western gallery, executed probably by the same hands that made Santa Maria's (Plate LXIII), known to be



FIG. 105—Patio of the Casa de las Torres, Ubeda.

by Juan de Reolid and Luis de Aguila. To the left of the sumptuous retablo (erroneously, one would say, ascribed to Berruguete) is a niche containing a specially beautiful figure of a boy; nothing is known of its origin but it is unquestionably Italian and forcibly recalls Sansovino. Attached to the church is a good sacristy, which, executed entirely in gray stone, is in marked contrast to the gorgeousness of the main interior. In its arrangement of recessed arches at the sides and barrel vault above it recalls the sacristy of Sigüenza Cathedral (see Fig. 62) but the spiritless character of the ornament makes it inferior to the more famous example. In the neighboring church of Santa Maria may be seen the charming little coro already mentioned and several fine rejas by Maestre Bartolomé.



PATIO OF THE CASA DE LAS TORRES, UBEDA.

Ubeda's further claim to architectural distinction is her remaining sixteenth- and seventeenth-century palaces. These, preserving local traditions, are picturesque and appealing, and it is to be regretted that many are falling into decay and that their marble caps, well curbs, and other carved bits are lying about in fragments. What remains of the home of Francisco de los Cobos, which undoubtedly was the finest, is now a *corral* (tenement). The Casa de las Torres built by Don Ruiz López Dávila about 1535 or 1540 is in better shape. On its façade (Plate LXIV), alongside of barbaric medieval touches, is some exquisite Plateresque ornament, but as the carving is in a coarse stone much of the fine execution has worn down. This façade, in its repeated use of the family blazon, its gigantic voussoirs and ornamental cresting, recalls early provincial work in Castile, especially Avila; at the same time there is a flatness, almost a timidity, in the decoration of the columns and friezes that is most un-Spanish. This same quality may be noticed on the Torrente palace where the charm of this local work is better preserved.

The Casa de las Torres is in a ruinous state inside but the patio (Fig. 105) retains much of its architectural splendor. It has none of the archaic quality of the façade though the interlacing of the archivolts, the patterning of the parapet, and the presence of gargoyles are all reminiscent of the preceding century. On the other hand, there is some Renaissance carving in the spandrel busts that displays a refinement rarely encountered outside of the important centers. Of course local historians insist that these busts are the work of Berruguete who was a friend of Vandelvira; some claim them for Gaspar de Becerra who was born either here or in nearby Baeza and who has been pronounced the greatest Spanish sculptor of the century by those who consider as best that Spanish art which most closely imitates Italian; still another searcher ascribes them to Xamete who, it has been mentioned, is believed to have carved the hundreds of portrait busts in the barrel vaulting of the sacristy of Sigüenza Cathedral and to have done other fine work in Cuenca. Ubeda has a large provincial hospital planned by Vandelvira and

commenced in 1567, but its dull façade has every appearance of having been finished in the following century.

The combined Ayuntamiento and Cárcel (prison) of Baeza (Fig. 106) is chiefly remarkable for gracing such a small pro-



FIG. 106—Palladian Windows of the Ayuntamiento, Baeza.

vincial town. The long façade of two stories is interesting in composition and really unique in the disposition of its windows and intervening decorative cartouches. These windows are a purely local interpretation of the infrequent Palladian motif, whose use in this unexpected spot may be explained by the fact that it made its first appearance in the not-distant Lacalahorra. The stone cornice is a patent translation of Moorish wooden eaves with carved brackets. In a façade that shows so many ingenious traces it is a pity that it should be stamped all over by the insipidity of the Granadine school of ornament. The architect is not men-

tioned in the inscription that records how "this work was ordered by the most illustrious señores of Baeza when the very illustrious Don Juan de Borja was *regidor* in the year 1559." Considerably earlier in date is the one well-preserved and rather over-restored palace of the town, the Palacio de los Benavente, to-day a seminary for priests. As mentioned earlier in this work, there is much resemblance between its exotic façade and that of the Infantado Palace at Guadalajara. Both have an open loggia across the top and both are probably by the same Flemish architects, Juan and Enrique Guas.

CHAPTER XI

ZARAGOZA AND THE PROVINCE OF ARAGÓN

ZARAGOZA'S RENEWED PROSPERITY AFTER THE UNION OF ARAGÓN AND CASTILE—RESTORATION OF THE MOORISH ALJAFERÍA—ROYAL ARCHBISHOPS IN ZARAGOZA—ENRIQUE DE EGAS'S CIMBORIO TO THE CATHEDRAL OF LA SEO AND OTHER PERSIAN FEATURES—THE ITALIAN GIOVANNI MORETO IN ZARAGOZA—HIS INFLUENCE ON DAMIÁN FORMENT—THE PORTAL OF SANTA ENGRACIA BY JUAN AND DIEGO DE MORLANES—TUDELILLA AND THE TRASCORO OF LA SEO—HIS ALTAR OF THE TRINITY IN JACA—THE DISPUTED CAPILLA DE SAN BERNARDO IN LA SEO—IMPORTANCE OF MUDÉJARES IN ZARAGOZA—MUDÉJAR TOWERS AND TILED CUPOLAS—MUDÉJAR PALACES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—THE LONJA AND ITS RESEMBLANCE TO THE RICCARDI PALACE OF FLORENCE—ITS MASSIVE WOODEN CORNICE—INTERIOR OF THE LONJA—TWO TYPES OF WOODEN CORNICE OR ALERO—THE CASA ZAPORTA OR DE LA INFANTA, NOW REMOVED TO PARIS—THE PALACIO DE LUNA OR AUDIENCIA—BRICKWORK OF THE FAÇADE—OTHER HOUSES IN THE CITY—TARAZONA AND OTHER ARAGONESE TOWNS

CHAPTER XI

ZARAGOZA AND THE PROVINCE OF ARAGÓN

IN Zaragoza (the English Saragossa), which is the dust-colored capital of Aragón, the church as elsewhere brought Italian sculptors to its service; and as the city was entering upon a wave of prosperity at the dawn of the sixteenth century a number of civic and private buildings also arose and embodied certain of the new elements. It is these palaces of Zaragoza, rather than the imported and fragmentary works in the churches, that are the chief interest to the student for they are a native expression. With their huge, bleached-out pine cornices and their vast brick façades constructed of the very material of the Aragonese desert, they may be taken as typifying the architecture of the whole province.

During the three and a half centuries before the Renaissance appeared, that is ever since the union of Aragón and Catalonia, the former, being inland, had been eclipsed by the latter with its long seacoast and important trade; but after the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragón, or to put it more accurately, after Isabella became Queen of Castile, his capital began to lift its head once more. These sovereigns at once proceeded to restore the Moorish Castillo de la Aljafería for their Zaragoza sojourns. What its magnificence was can only be judged to-day from the few remaining ceilings and the grand stairway, for these are all that survived successive occupation by French and Spanish troops during the War of Independence, and its later adaptation as a barracks; but the restoration mentioned must have been a stimulating event to the nascent activities of the century. The next impetus came when King Ferdinand gave the diocese to his illegitimate

son Don Alonso de Aragón. Don Alonso was then but a mere youth, and as his two sons succeeded him in the episcopal chair the see was in royal hands for about seventy-five years. These princes were versed in letters and the fine arts, and acquired many Renaissance accessories for the churches.

Although the new movement came into the province from the Mediterranean side, principally Valencia, rather than from the Castilian, still the first notable architectural undertaking of the century was given to the Castilian Enrique de Egas. This was the rebuilding of the collapsed cimborio of the cathedral of La Seo. Egas, it appears, represented to the youthful archbishop that he was too occupied with the King's hospital in Santiago to come to the capital of Aragón. If, notwithstanding, Don Alonso prevailed upon his father to relinquish his claim in favor of La Seo, it can hardly be believed that Egas's connection with the work went beyond a sketch for the interior; indeed one may further doubt whether his sketch was ever followed; for the dome, as has been remarked by the illustrious Iranian authority M. Marcel Dieulafoy, "could not be more purely Persian if the cupola had been built at Ispahan or Bidjapur for the tomb of Mahmud."¹ It is an interesting arrangement of vaulting based upon an eight-pointed star (Fig. 107), with the points prolonged down into Renaissance colonnettes and the whole supported upon squinches. The first, or colonnette, stage is completely Renaissance in decoration. The exterior is a beautiful piece of Mudéjar, surely the work of some Zaragoza builder and true to the best Mudéjar traditions of the province. It is of the customary non-lustrous bricks interspersed with faïence and repeats the fine treatment in the famous northeast wall (Plate LXV), built about 1375 by Archbishop de Luna—the wall of which George Street wrote: "The general character of this very remarkable work is certainly most effective: and though I should not like to see the Moresque character of the design reproduced, it undoubtedly affords valuable suggestions for those who are attempting to develop a ceramic decoration for the exterior of buildings."

¹ Art in Spain and Portugal by Marcel Dieulafoy, p. 211.



MUDEJAR BRICKWORK OF THE CATHEDRAL OF LA SEO, ZARAGOZA.

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Neither Egas nor his dome had any influence on the new movement in Aragón; but early in the century an Italian, Giovanni Moreto, went traveling through the province and doing pure Florentine work in the cathedrals of Jaca and



FIG. 107—Interior of the Cimborio of La Seo.
Attributed to Enrique de Egas, 1505.

Tarazona. He finally settled down in Zaragoza where he made the handsome stalls (Fig. 108) now in the cathedral of El Pilar, the later of Zaragoza's two metropolitan churches. Moreto was undoubtedly an important factor in the career of the greatest sculptor of the Aragonese school, Damián Forment. Forment came as a Gothicism from Valencia in 1509; his first production was the magnificent retablo which is also now housed in El Pilar. Then he went north to make one even finer for the cathedral of Huesca. In the predella of the former and the whole of the latter his sculpture has ceased to be Gothic and has become sensuously Italian, but the frames of both remain Gothic. In 1527 he carved the lofty retablo (Fig. 109) for the Monastery of Poblet near Tarragona, one of the few objects that escaped wreckage when the Liberals looted the place in 1835. Here the entire

work is pure Renaissance and is one of the finest of its kind. This by no means exhausts the list of Forment's productions, for he was called to work for churches in Barbastro and Santo Domingo de la Calzada where he died about 1541. Jusepe



FIG. 108—Sillería of El Pilar, Zaragoza, from a Cast in the Museo Provincial.

Giovanni Moreto, Sculptor, 1542.

Martinez (d. 1682) says in his *Discursos* "Damián made an infinity of works in alabaster and wood; but of those in wood it is known that they were mostly the work of his disciples following his drawings and models. He never had less than twelve or fourteen pupils, without whose aid he could never have accomplished one fifth of the work credited to him." Forment was really a great sculptor but the inscription on his tomb nevertheless overstates his skill in declaring him to have rivaled Phidias and Praxiteles: "Arte statuaria Phidiæ Praxitelisque æmulus."

There is considerable discussion as to the author of Zaragoza's next piece of Renaissance, the portal of Santa Engracia (Fig. 110). The church was begun by Juan Morlanes under the Catholic Sovereigns but had not proceeded

far when Ferdinand left for Naples. An interruption of fifteen years ensued and when the work was resumed, either the son Diego Morlanes or Forment carried it on. The portal is of the material preferred by all Aragonese sculptors—alabaster



FIG. 109—Retablo in the Ruined Monastery of Poblet.
Ascribed to Damián Forment, 1527.

from the hills of the lower Ebro. The composition was well described by Philip when he said that the monks of Santa Engracia had taken the retablo out of their church and put it at the entrance. It is not an admirable work and Forment's admirers need not be so zealous in claiming it for him. The sculptural quality which he as a Gothicismist carried into his Renaissance is entirely lacking, and the architectural forms are dry and perfunctory. True the statues of Ferdinand and Isabella are often pointed to as initiating the change from

Gothic conventionality to Renaissance realism. It must be admitted that in the way of portraiture, they are an improvement on the doll-like faces of these same monarchs by Felipe Vigarní in the Renaissance retablo of the Capilla Real at



FIG. 110—Portal of Santa Engracia, Zaragoza.

Granada. The façade of Santa Engracia, now freely restored, is all that was left of the once great convent-church after the siege of 1808. The convent which stood back of it and which was also much battered had an excessively rich Plateresque patio by Tudelilla, another distinguished sculptor-architect of the Zaragoza group. This patio in plaster and stucco evoked much praise from George Street, one of the last critics to examine it and one who had small sympathy with Plateresque. Tudelilla also designed the trascoro of La Seo, in yestería, though it was probably not erected until after his

death. It is a work of much merit in parts though restlessly rich. He is seen to better advantage in the altar of the Trinity at Jaca (1538). Here the domination of architectural motifs, well understood and well executed, differentiates it from his *trascoro* at Zaragoza; differentiates it to such an extent that it might credibly be ascribed to Moreto. The central figure of God the Father has the grandeur of Michelangelo, and in the frieze are smaller figures of great charm.

This artist Tudelilla is one of the few working in Zaragoza of whom details have come down to us. His real name was Martin de Gaztelú. Born in either Tudela or Tarazona in the late fifteenth century, he studied in Italy and on his return established himself in Zaragoza, where he was popularly known as Tudelilla. It is said that "many palaces and large houses in Zaragoza were built by him or under his direction." He is known to have helped the younger men in the profession and to have lived so prodigally that when he died in 1569 "his heirs found nothing more than drawings, plaster models, books, and the instruments of his art; for which reason Domingo, son of the great master, had to sell the house of said Martin in the Calle San Blas facing that of Juan de Arbas the silversmith." The alabaster chapel of San Bernardino is another sumptuous piece of Plateresque in the cathedral of La Seo. It was built by Bishop de Hernando of Aragón, grandson of King Ferdinand, to hold his own and his mother's tomb. The sarcophagi supporting the fine recumbent figures are beautifully carved and superior to the altars above. These tombs are variously ascribed to Tudelilla, Diego Morlanes, and to two pupils of Damián Forment named Juan de Liceire and Bernardo Monero.

From this partial list of sixteenth-century acquisitions it will be seen that Zaragoza was no stranger to the new style. The valley of the Ebro was the natural route for artists passing to and from Italy, and the Aragonese capital the most important stopping place. It was here in 1518 that Domenico Fancelli died on his way back to Carrara to execute the Cisneros tomb. Ordóñez, Berruguete, and Gaspar de Becerra of Baeza all tarried here, the last mentioned spending a week

in the house of Diego Morlanes and leaving with him many Italian sketches. All this influx of Italian art, though it modified the secular architecture of the city, never swerved it from its traditional road. Zaragoza was more strongly Mudéjar



FIG. 111—The Cathedral of El Pilar, Zaragoza, from across the Ebro.

than any other large city in Spain. The wise Aragonese had early appreciated the conquered Moors who remained as a valuable asset in the city's industrial life. From the time of the Reconquest the Mudéjares had their own *gremios* or guilds and carried their banners in the civic processions. When, in 1503, King Ferdinand tried to enforce Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros' decree of banishment or baptism the Mudéjares had become so important in commerce, agriculture, and the arts, that the Aragonese authorities themselves opposed the order. They were successful in warding it off until 1526 when the zealous Charles compelled its execution. In the field of architecture, Moorish brickwork and carpentry had been an unbroken tradition ever since the coming of the Arabs to the region. On the Christian occupation it was Mudéjares who built the churches. One of these, San Pablo, dating from the middle of the thirteenth century, is referred to by Fergusson as of such oriental aspect that "it might pass for a church

in the Crimea or the Steppes of Tartary." The most distinctive note of the medieval city was its Mudéjar brick towers with their polychrome tile cupolas, eastern looking, naturally, since they had as prototype the Arab prayer tower. Even as late as the sixteenth century a new brick tower was added to the already large group comprised by San Pablo, San Miguel, Santa Magdalena, San Gil, and many others. In this case it was a free-standing clock tower, the famous Torre Inclínada; but this unfortunately must be spoken of in the past tense, for though its lean had not increased in two centuries it was taken down in 1894. Without it Zaragoza is what Seville would be without the Giralda. In these towers the brickwork was not only patterned but in many cases embellished with colored tiles in the manner of the previously mentioned north-east wall of La Seo.

The bulk of Zaragoza's sixteenth-century architecture was not, however, ecclesiastic. Though many palaces have disappeared a surprising number remain considering the extensive modernizing which the city has undergone. Fortunately the most noted civic monument has been saved intact; this is the Lonja or Exchange (Fig. 112) finished in 1551 at the expense of Bishop Fernando of Aragón. The Lonja preserves in material and detail all the salient characteristics of Aragonese architecture; at the same time it is reminiscent of the early Florentine palaces, particularly the Riccardi, built nearly a hundred years before. Comparing the two the inspiration seems obvious; but on analyzing the points of resemblance—bigness of scale, huge cornice, arch motif at the top, and general exterior ruggedness—one has to admit that these characteristics were common to each of these centers aside from all question of contact. In both the Lonja and the Florentine example the cornice is one tenth the total height and the façade is divided horizontally into three stages; further similarity would be apparent had not the ground floor arches of the Riccardi been walled up by Michelangelo. And yet the Lonja is not Italian but typical Zaranogzan. The architect, like all Aragonese designers, realized the importance of strong shadows in brickwork; by means of deeply recessed windows

with successive reveals, and by panels set in various planes, he imparted an interest not less than that which the Italian secured through his cyclopean stonework. A most effective handling of the material is seen in the band that extends



FIG. 112—The Lonja, Zaragoza.
Architect unknown. Dated 1551.

around the two exposed sides of the Lonja just above the first story arches. This band is made up of an impressive monotony of blank openings, decorative only, since they have no relation to the interior. At the top of the building is the Aragonese arcaded motif which, often walled up in Zaragoza palaces, is left open in the Lonja, as is the case in the milder climate of Palma de Mallorca, once part of Aragón. Across this top story are inserted terra cotta busts of the ancient



RED PINE CORNICE OF THE LONJA, ZARAGOZA, 1551.

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kings. The extreme depth of the reveals throughout the exterior is made possible by the enormous thickness of the walls, a thickness imposed by the Gothic vaulting of the interior. The dominating feature of the whole exterior is the wooden cornice (*alero* or more accurately *cornisa*), one of the finest in a province famous for them (Plate LXVI). It is nearly 7 feet high and projects over 5 feet. Its profile is more classic than most Spanish wooden cornices but its detail is as exotic as one expects to find in a Mudéjar region. As a wooden interpretation it is remarkable for its solidity and crowns the edifice quite as nobly as if it were in stone. These pine cornices were never painted and are no longer oiled, so that their once rich reddish color has bleached out to the same dusty hue as the brickwork.

The interior of the Lonja is a vast hall 123 feet long, 80 feet wide, and 50 feet high to the crown of the pointed vaulting (see Figs. 113 and 114). From the fact that the transverse arches are semicircular and that the columns are Ionic, one might suspect that the original idea had been to treat the ceiling in Renaissance, but that certain difficulties, such as the bays not being square, had caused the builders to fall back on the earlier and more elastic style. Their solution resembles the Gothic vaulting of La Seo even to the amorini grouped around the spring of the ribs. Where no structural problems perplexed them the interior is Renaissance. The very charming little upper windows with splayed reveals resemble closely those added to San Pablo by Juan de Miraso in 1571. The only Mudéjar touch of the interior is the lettered frieze, gold

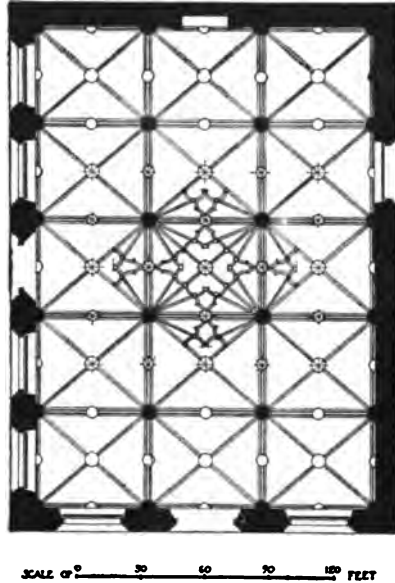


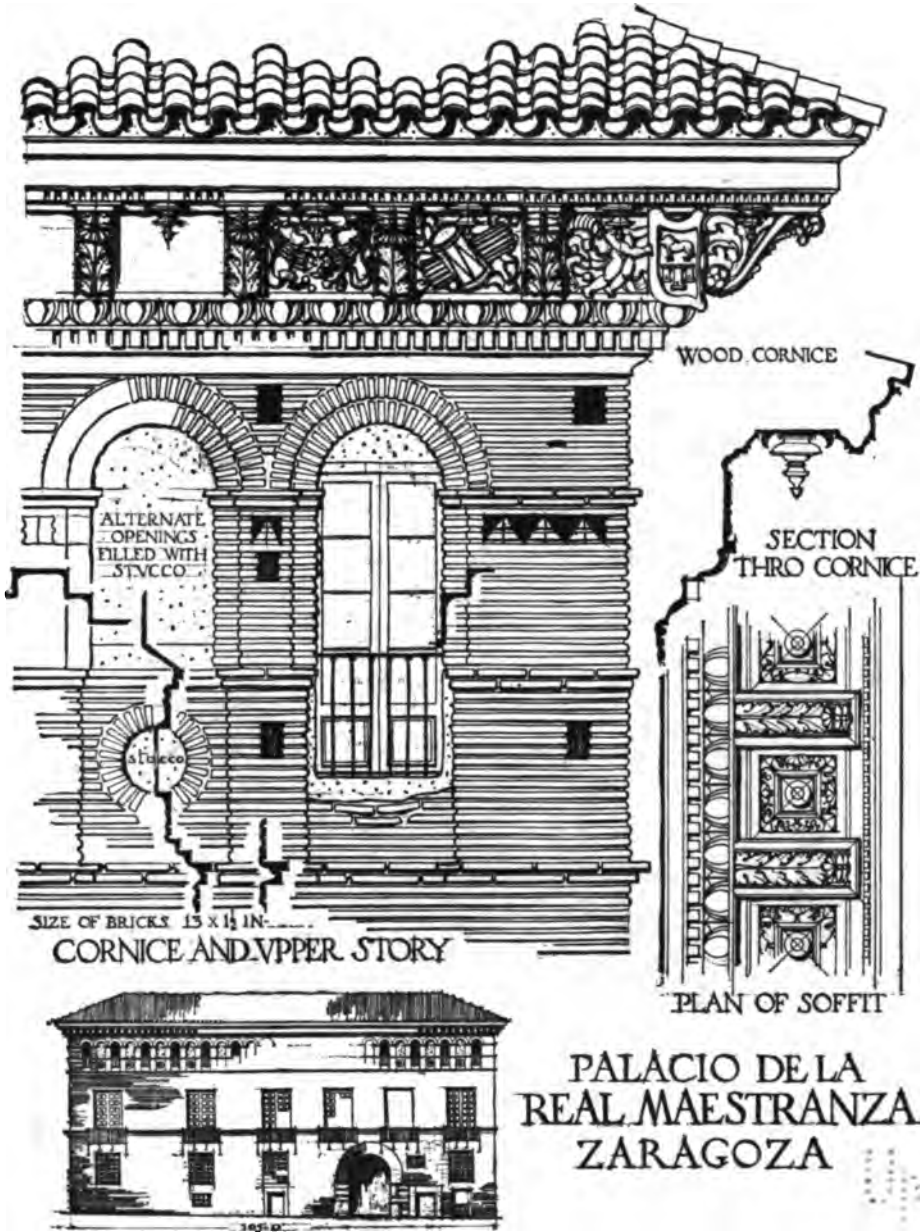
FIG. 113—Plan of the Lonja, Zaragoza, 1551.

on blue, and playing the same decorative part as similar friezes in the synagogues of Toledo and other Mudéjar monuments. The inscription is interesting for the side-light it throws on the obstinate Aragonese character: Joan the Mad



FIG. 114—Interior of the Lonja, Zaragoza, 1551.

shut up in her tower at Tordesillas had ceased to exist politically for the Castilians, but Aragón refused to admit Charles's claim to the throne during the lifetime of his mother; hence the inscription: "In the year 1551 A.D. Madama Joan and Don Charles ruling together this exchange was built." The architect of the Lonja is unknown. Every writer is ready with an attribution, generally Diego Morlanes; but the Lonja façade, noble though it is, is merely traditional



PINE CORNICE AND FAÇADE OF THE REAL MAESTRANZA, ZARAGOZA.

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Aragonese brickwork devoid of any personal touch by which its author might be identified. The same is true of the fronts of the city's palaces, and the mere fact that certain architects are recorded in cathedral archives as having been employed on sumptuous altars and tombs is the only reason for assuming that they did the civic and domestic work of the city.

Before and during the erection of the Lonja many *solares* or town houses were rising in the city. These were of brick with far projecting wooden cornices, an arcaded gallery across the top, few but large and severely plain windows, and an entrance portal generally round-arched with stone trim of imposing section. Many such examples may be seen in the Calle Yedra and surrounding streets, which old quarter presents a picture of what Zaragoza was before the broad new thoroughfares were cut through. The type of façade was determined by the narrowness of the streets—13 or 14 feet; the entrance and overhanging cornice being the only features that could be appreciated, embellishment was limited to them. Cornices were invariably carved in soft reddish pine. They are of two distinct types, one based on Moorish, the other on classic precedent. The former is distinctly a wooden eaves, as may be seen in Fig. 115, and consists of a series of brackets with carved ends and paneled sides supporting the rafter purlin. This type is generally seen on the smaller houses. The second follows its stone prototype but is enriched by a wealth of Mudéjar carving. Besides the Lonja, other examples of this second type are the Audiencia (Courts of Law) and the Real Maestranza (Royal Cavalry Club) which is illustrated in Plate LXVII. On the Casa Consistorial of Huesca some forty miles north is another famous example. Little is known of the men who carved them but it is on record that about the middle of the century Antonio de Prado made the hood over the portal of San Pablo and also the very elaborate but rather wild example on the Argillo Palace, now the Colegio San Felipe. These same cornice workers were undoubtedly responsible for the magnificent ceilings of various edifices in the city.

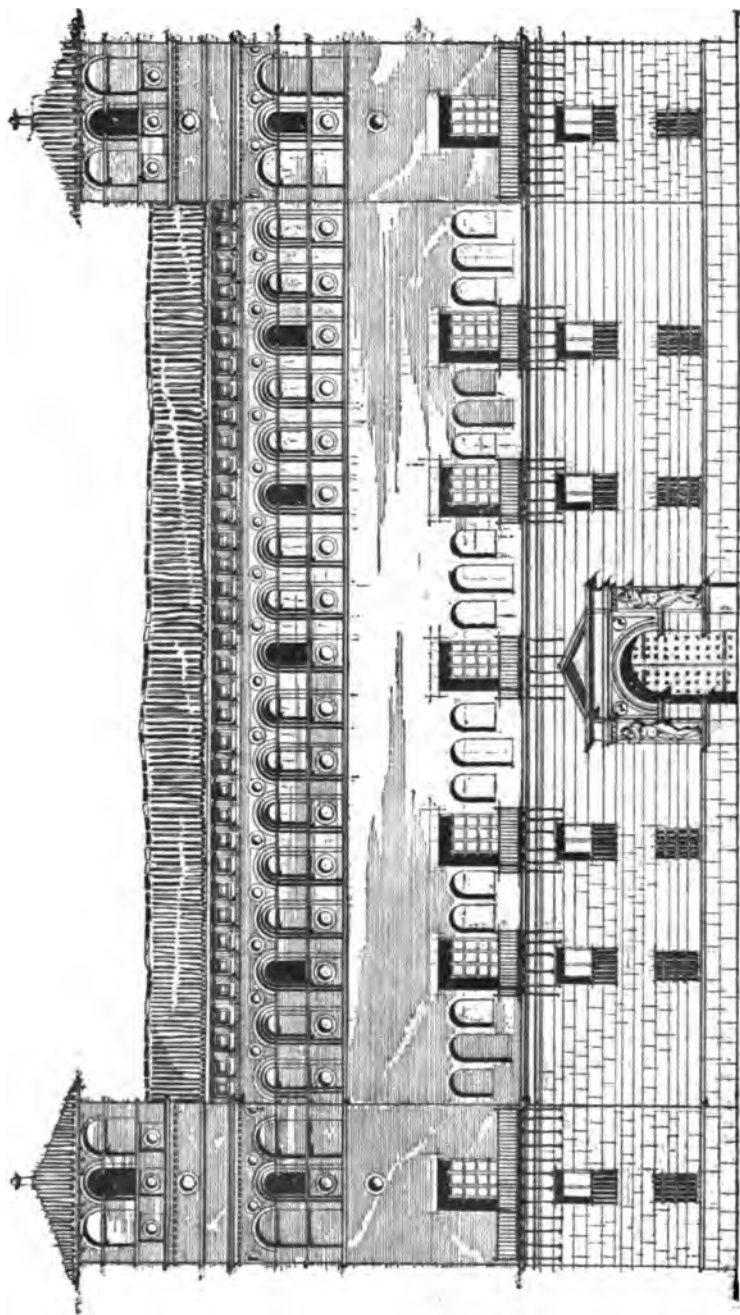
Very few Zaragoza palaces remain intact. Patio columns,

rejas, ceilings, and other portable parts have disappeared and the most perfected specimen, the Casa Zaporta, was recently taken down and reerected in Paris. This house, because of a Spanish princess having lived in it in the eighteenth century,



FIG. 115—Wooden Cornice of Moorish Type, Zaragoza.

was also called the Casa de la Infanta. It is known that Tudelilla finished the patio in 1551 and that the whole interior was very sumptuous, yet it faced on the narrow Calle San Jorge near the typical Yedra Street just mentioned. Its patio was naturally the focus for the ornamentalist, and drawings of it may be seen in Prentice's well known portfolio. Among extant palaces the most conspicuous is that of the illustrious Luna family to which belonged the Antipope Benedict XIII. Considerably remodeled, it is now the Audiencia. The patio, probably altered soon after the last owner died (1728) and bequeathed the building to the Royal Tribunal, is of small merit. Nor does much else of the interior remain in its original state except the fine wooden artesonados, all built up of panels, carved, but neither painted or gilded. In the chapel the ceiling takes the form of a simple barrel vault richly coffered and supported by a beautifully carved



THE AUDIENCIA OF ZARAGOZA, FORMERLY THE PALACE OF THE LUNA FAMILY.



PATIO IN THE FORMER MUSEO PROVINCIAL, ZARAGOZA.

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frieze. The noble façade of the Audiencia, however, has undergone but little change (Plate LXVIII). It is 156 feet long, flanked by two square towers. That the building was planned to be symmetrical on all four sides seems probable,

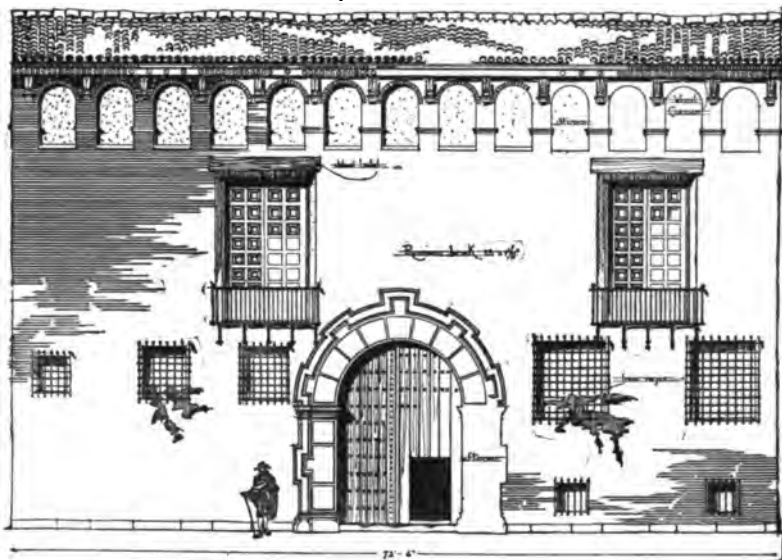


FIG. 116—A Small Brick Palace in the Calle Mayor, Zaragoza.

but the elevation on the Coso was the only one ever completed, and even here, the grotesque entrance is a much later addition. The lower portion is stone, with the brick beginning at the *piso principal*; this latter, by its austerity and great scale, is particularly impressive. Across the top of the building and embracing the towers runs the typical arcaded motif, in this case bricked in; above is the usual wooden cornice. The upper part of the towers is paneled and patterned in contrast to the plain laying up of the rest of the façade. A few remarks on the brickwork on the Audiencia will apply to all in the city. The units, clay colored, are of a uniform size measuring $13 \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They are rough but fairly true, laid up alternate header and stretcher, nine courses to every twenty-four inches inclusive of the joints, which are troweled flush. Irregularities are frequently met. There are no moulded bricks, string courses being formed by pro-

jecting the ordinary units, nor are arch bricks ever rubbed. Patterning is confined to panels and effect is easily obtained in this strong light by slight and varied projections. Among the other notable brick edifices of Zaragoza is the palace now

used by the Real Maestranza, the Convento Santa Fé later used as the Provincial Museum (Plate LXIX), the Guara Palace now the Banco de Crédito, and a number of smaller houses in the old part of the town. That of the sculptor Morlanes, in this old quarter, presents the novelty of decorated windows, but these have been so covered with paint that it is impossible to judge of their original merit.

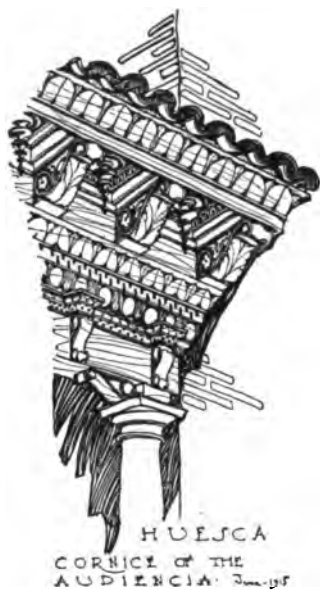


FIG. 117—Detail of the Pine Cornice on the Audiencia, Huesca.

Huesca, Tarazona, Daroca, Teruel, and other Aragonese towns possess interesting examples of brickwork of the period, combined with wooden cornices and ceilings. Of these Huesca, farthest to the north, close in fact to the Pyrenees, boasts in its Casa Consistorial, the best civic building of the province

after the Lonja of Zaragoza. To a certain extent it recalls the Audiencia but the arcaded motif has grown to a fully developed loggia. This is crowned by the magnificent wooden cornice already mentioned (Fig. 117). Tarazona, almost in Navarra, is picturesquely situated on the side of a cliff and is very medieval in appearance. The brick cimborio added by Canon Juan Muñoz to the Romanesque Cathedral is a good piece of Renaissance inside similar to La Seo of Zaragoza, but externally it is more picturesque than structural. Since George Street's day the cloister he so admired has fallen into sad ruin; hardly any of its once famous terra cotta tracery remains and the cloister enclosure is now a weedy patch which no one is interested in cleaning up. The cathedral tower is

much later than and inferior to that of Santa Magdalena in the same town; this latter in fact is one of the finest towers in the province. With the exception of its cupola it dates from the fifteenth century and would therefore be the work of Mudéjares, who terminated it in the usual eastern truncated manner. But unlike most of these early Aragonese towers which were later topped off with lead cupolas, this Santa Magdalena example received a brick termination. The only other building of importance is the archiepiscopal palace rising high from the river. Its great arched buttresses give it a medieval aspect though in reality it dates from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Calatayud there are a number of typical Mudéjar towers but nearly all in dilapidated condition. Entirely abandoned is the one interesting Renaissance palace, a small structure on the Rua or main street. The rich Plateresque portal of the collegiate church of Santa Maria built in 1528 by Juan de Talavera and Etienne Veray is a mediocre production made interesting chiefly by its great projecting hood. It too was in sad state until recently restored.

CHAPTER XII

OLD PALACES IN PALMA DE MALLORCA

THE MALLORCAN ARISTOCRATS OF THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY—
SIXTEENTH CENTURY FURNISHINGS STILL IN DAILY USE IN PALMA HOMES—
MALLORCAN ARCHITECTS IN GOTHIC DAYS—JUAN DE SALÉS FIRST RE-
NAISSANCE ARCHITECT IN THE CATHEDRAL—HIS LARGE PULPIT—DOMES-
TIC ARCHITECTS UNKNOWN—INSULAR TYPE OF PALACE—FAÇADE DICTATED
BY NARROWNESS OF STREET—PECULIARITIES OF THE PALMA PATIO,
CALLED ZAGUÁN—SUPERIOR CHARACTER OF ITS MASONRY—UNIQUE
STAIRWAY CONSTRUCTION THROUGHOUT THE CITY—SHEET-IRON BALUS-
TRADES—CONCENTRATED PLAN OWING TO BUILDING OVER OF ZAGUÁN
AREA—PALACE OF THE MARQUÉS DE VIVOT—THE CASA DEL MARQUÉS
DE PALMER AND ITS FLEMISH TOUCHES—THE OLEZA HOUSE—OTHER EX-
AMPLES IN THE CITY

CHAPTER XII

OLD PALACES IN PALMA DE MALLORCA

IT is a far cry from Granada to the island of Majorca which lies some two hundred kilometers out from Barcelona and Valencia respectively; but as one follows the Mediterranean coast up from Andalusia to Barcelona, the intervening country contains only fragmentary bits of the period under consideration, as explained in Chapter I. Out on the island, however, things went differently. Majorca was able to maintain itself aloof from the troubles that beset Catalonia and Aragón during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Likewise it failed to share in the revival of those provinces (though it needed it less) and consequently it has escaped the modern German influence so disturbingly paramount in the new Catalan school of architecture.

The delightful old city of Palma, capital of the Balearic Islands, is quite crowded with simple sixteenth-century palaces of a distinctive character, these with the added interest of being still inhabited by the descendants of the very nobles who built them. Back in the thirteenth century Don Jaime the Conqueror divided the island among those fierce Aragonese warriors who had helped him to wrest it from the Moors. These families figured in the government of Mallorca throughout the Middle Ages and had a *solar* in Palma as well as their country holdings; but of the old Gothic city hardly a trace remains except the cathedral because of a disastrous fifteenth-century conflagration. This razing nearly coincides with the return of a number of nobles who had been off helping Ferdinand of Aragón in the conquest, or rather reconquest, of Naples, a service for which they were handsomely rewarded.

In the next reign further enrichment and honors came through fighting for the Emperor Charles V in Lombardy and Germany.¹ It is plain, then, that these islanders were by no means outside the main activities of their day; that they had seen



FIG. 118—Stairway in the Palacio de Moncado, Barcelona.

Italian architecture and naturally turned to it for a model when building themselves new houses in Palma. In succeeding centuries the island city dropped out of the current of Spanish events but fortunately with sufficient resources to maintain a high degree of prosperity; hence its aristocracy has not been overcome by that poverty which has dismantled

¹ "The Emperor was so desirous of expressing his gratitude to Don Nicolás Despuig that with his own royal hands he armed him caballero at Augsburg and authorized him and all his descendants male and female to use the double-headed eagle in their escutcheon." *Nobiliario Mallorquin*, by Joaquín María Bover.



PINE CUPOLA OVER STAIRWAY IN THE ARCHIVO
DE ARAGÓN, BARCELONA.

Built by Antonio Carbonell for Charles V.



ARTESONADO AND GALLERY IN THE SALON DE
CORTES OF THE AUDIENCIA, VALENCIA.

and ruined most of the Castilian family seats. Palma palaces offer the unique opportunity of seeing the sixteenth-century house not rearranged as for museum purposes but merely left untouched from the period when its furnishings represented the very latest comfort and elegance that money could import. Many a vast salon is still hung with Flemish tapestries or rich Valencian damasks; the four-poster is curtained with Genoese velvets, and alongside, to mitigate the rigors of the bare stone floor, stands an enormous antique brazier. But the antiquarians who haunt the island have long since marked all these furnishings for their own and whether the foregoing remarks will be true a decade hence is doubtful.

From the annals of Palma Cathedral one learns that the city came honestly by its traditions of noble masonry. As far back as the fourteenth century the native architect Jaime Fabre showed such skill in constructing its wide-naved cathedral that he was called upon to become maestro mayor of the more important temple in Barcelona. Another Mallorquin, Guillermo Sagrera, built the wide-naved cathedral of Perpignan and then came back to erect the charming Lonja of Palma in 1426. Whenever political disturbances did not prevent there were always Mallorcan Gothicists to carry on the building of Palma Cathedral; but the sixteenth-century architect responsible for the introduction of Plateresque was the Aragonese Juan de Salés. To him are due the pulpits (1529-35), the *sillería*, and perhaps the west portal.¹ Nothing of his training is known but apparently it was not obtained in Italy. His work, like the productions of all the secondary men of his day, has the stamp of the high class journeyman—fluent, of varied composition, but utterly uninspired. It suggests the elaborate *trascoro* of La Seo in Zaragoza ascribed to Tudelilla, and one would probably not be far wrong in assuming that Salés had worked there before coming to Palma.

¹ "Salés saluted the aurora of the Renaissance in Mallorca. . . . But what do these Greco-Roman portals signify in the house of God? What do those grotesques, those rich festoons, those dishonest sirens, those nude or nearly nude angels, those mannered and affected statues of the saints devoid of all inspiration and character—what can these say to the Christian soul?" lamented Don Pablo Piferrer in his volume entitled *Las Islas Baleares*, one of the series, *Bellezas y Recuerdos de España*.

The larger pulpit (Fig. 119) is the best of his works—quite the best piece of Plateresque in the city, in fact. It is very large as pulpits go, being 13 feet in diameter. While the composition is very Italian the use of the uncouth bearded figures as



FIG. 119—Pulpit in the Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca.

By Juan Salés, 1529.

corbels is very Spanish. It is carved from *pedra de Santañí*, Santañí being a town in the south of the island which furnished most of the building stone of Palma. The smaller pulpit is in no way remarkable although the two when connected by the balustrade which was removed a few years ago made a dignified and original treatment. The Plateresque main entrance to the cathedral dated 1595 is a perfunctory specimen of the style.

Neither Salés nor anyone under him is known to have been employed on the domestic work of the city. The only architect recorded is Cesar Faccio, a Genovese, who built the Quint-Zaforteza Palace. This example is of no importance nor was the name of the architect famous in Genoa. Romantic people determined on discovering Moorish influence paramount in Spain assert that everything in Palma points to Africa. This is least of all true of Palma architecture. In no other large city where the Moors held out so long (they were not overcome till 1229) would it be more difficult to find traces of Moorish artizans. There is little carpintería, no yestería, no azulejería to speak of, and nothing Moorish in plan or construction. There is no such legacy as the windowless, exclusive looking façades of Toledo, the brick towers of Zaragoza, or the highly domesticated patio of Seville; and as for actual Moorish remains only a *baño* exists. Yet the Moors kept trying to reconquer the island until as late as 1575 or thereabouts; and every time they effected a landing they were overpowered and sold as slaves. The advanced agriculture of the island would suggest that they were all employed in husbandry rather than in the arts.

The Palma residence is not the product of architects but of intelligent master builders, hence the striking sameness of arrangements and details in all the houses. The palaces are commodious to the point of vastness and almost invariably built on a pinched and crooked street. Only in the one broad thoroughfare of the town, El Borne, do they show any diversity of treatment; but the Borne used to be the bed of the now diverted Reira on whose banks and bridges the populace gathered for public festivals such as tournaments and autos de fê, and the loggias and balconies seen here were for the accommodation of spectators. In Palma as elsewhere the narrowness of the street governed the type of façade which is here so severe that even the family escutcheon is reserved for the patio. The word patio must not be taken in the Castilian sense; it is never lived in, has no arcaded gallery running around it, and only a portion of it is open to the sky. The natives call it all the zaguán which term in Castile would

apply only to the forecourt, or covered passage from street to patio. Incorporated with it and challenging the attention the moment one enters is the noble stairway, always the chief architectural feature of the Palma house. On this ground



FIG. 120—Stairway in a Small House, Palma de Mallorca.

floor the only living rooms are the porter's; the rest of the space is given over to stables, store-rooms, and zaguán. This last frequently opens on two or more streets, and such amplitude along with the visible stair, is in marked contrast to the restricted circulating space and hidden stair of houses on the mainland. Most interesting among the details of the zaguán is the character of the masonry itself. A very superior know-

ledge of the science of vaulting is exhibited, and intricate intersections are handled with masterly skill. The confidence which these old-time constructors had in stone astounds the timid modern who would never dare to trust the whole weight

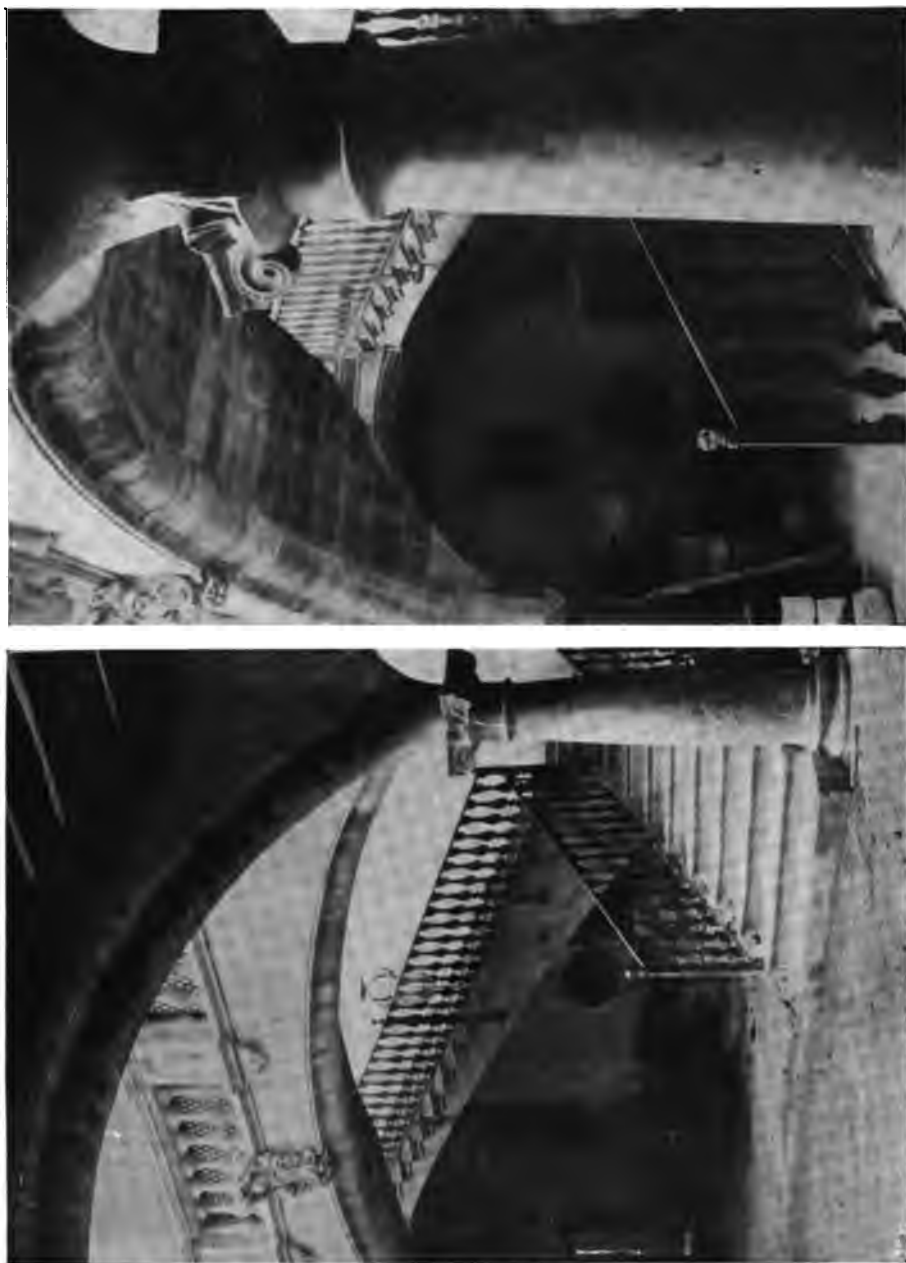


FIG. 121—Stairway in the Casa Palmarqués, Palma de Mallorca.

of the house on these isolated zaguán columns and their low connecting arches. The columns are arranged in bays measuring about 18 by 25 feet. In a small house one such bay might constitute the entire patio but in larger examples, the Palacio Vivot for instance, there are six. To keep a bay of some 450 square feet at a height appropriately low for a service story meant the evolving of a special arch—not the flat segmental arch for that was never popular with the Spaniards, but a segmental arch with elliptical easings at the spring. Two or four of these low, wide arches spring from one column and rest on a haunch block cut with the necessary seats from a single stone. Devoid of any moulded treatment whatever the shapelessness of such blocks reminds one of the crude bow

and stern pieces cut daily in the Palma shipyards from the curiously twisted tree trunks brought in from the country. Between the wide-span arches the actual ceiling is of wood framing, very heavy, for it supports the *piso principal* flooring which is of great granite blocks. The columns of the *zaguán* are thick and almost always of ungraceful contour; their capitals are a clumsy combination of Ionic and Doric indifferently carved. A coarse mottled reddish marble quarried on the island is used here but the rest of the house is of the now yellowed Santañí.

The Palma stairway is entirely unlike the claustral type seen in the rest of Spain. In humbler examples it ascends in one flight from the side of the *zaguán* but in more pretentious it rises from the center in a single run, then divides into two returning flights which lead to the loggia-like passage at the level of the *piso principal* or main floor. Each example presents some new little attainment in masonry, for varying conditions demanded a distinct solution for each one. Where it is a long single run it is supported on an arch so flat that there hardly appears to be key enough to hold the stones in place. This long sweep intersects the short semicircular arch of the landing in such a way that the two appear to be one graceful parabolical curve, as in the Oleza house in the Calle Morey. Another feat difficult in stonework yet common enough in Palma is the intersection of the flat elliptical arch supporting the second story loggia with the semicircular vaulting behind upholding the stair itself. With such thoroughness has this problem been solved that out of a hundred or more cases it has been necessary to reinforce but very few. In addition to their excellent masonry all these stairways possess a decorative feature encountered only in Palma—the simulated baluster cut from sheet iron, as seen in all the stairs illustrated. The eye is never deceived into taking these flat spindles for the round, and it is precisely because they look flat that they are admirable. The profile is cut, with markings following the rake of the stair, from well-hammered sheet iron about three sixteenths of an inch thick; this flat piece is never pierced with patterning. The slender newels and



TWO VIEWS OF THE STAIRWAY IN THE CASA OLEZA, PALMA DE MALLORCA.

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intermediate supports are tipped with brass. Such balustrades constitute about the only use of decorative ironwork in Palma architecture. The window *reja* is conspicuously absent, and the few balconies are of Baroque ironwork.

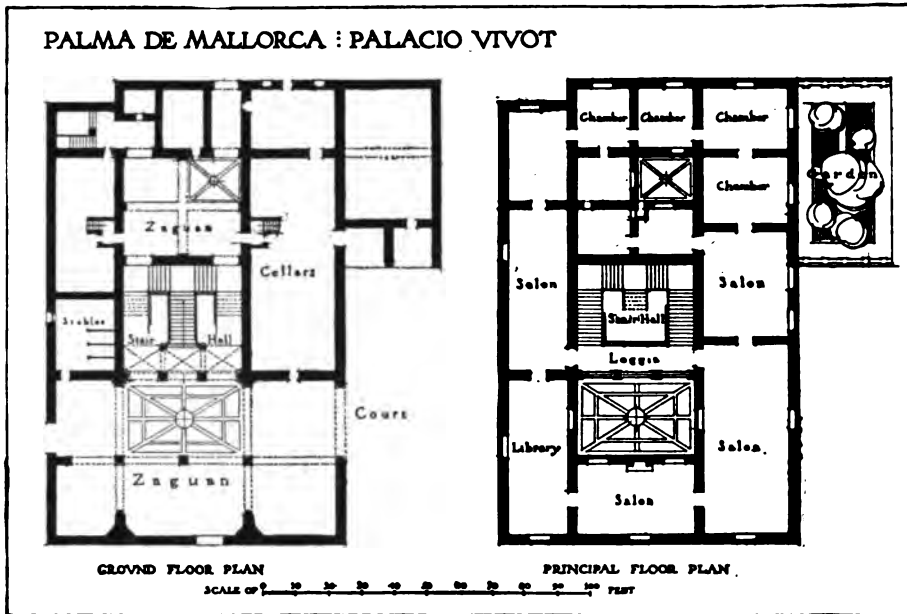


FIG. 122—Plan of the Casa del Marqués de Vivot, Palma de Mallorca.

Owing to the building-over of most of the *zaguán* area the Palma plan, as compared with the Castilian, permits of much more concentration in the *piso principal*. The plan of the Vivot house shows this (Fig. 124). To the principal floor there are always two entrances one at each end of the stair loggia. They are treated alike and open into the large salon on one side and into the small recibidor at the other. The loftiness of all these rooms is extraordinary, 26 feet being a common height. The floor throughout is paved with huge blocks of Santañí, which those who tenant the house declare to be warmer in winter than either brick or glazed tiles. To add to the medieval severity of all this, window openings were merely shuttered not glazed; and of the few fireplaces seen not one was part of the sixteenth-century equipment.

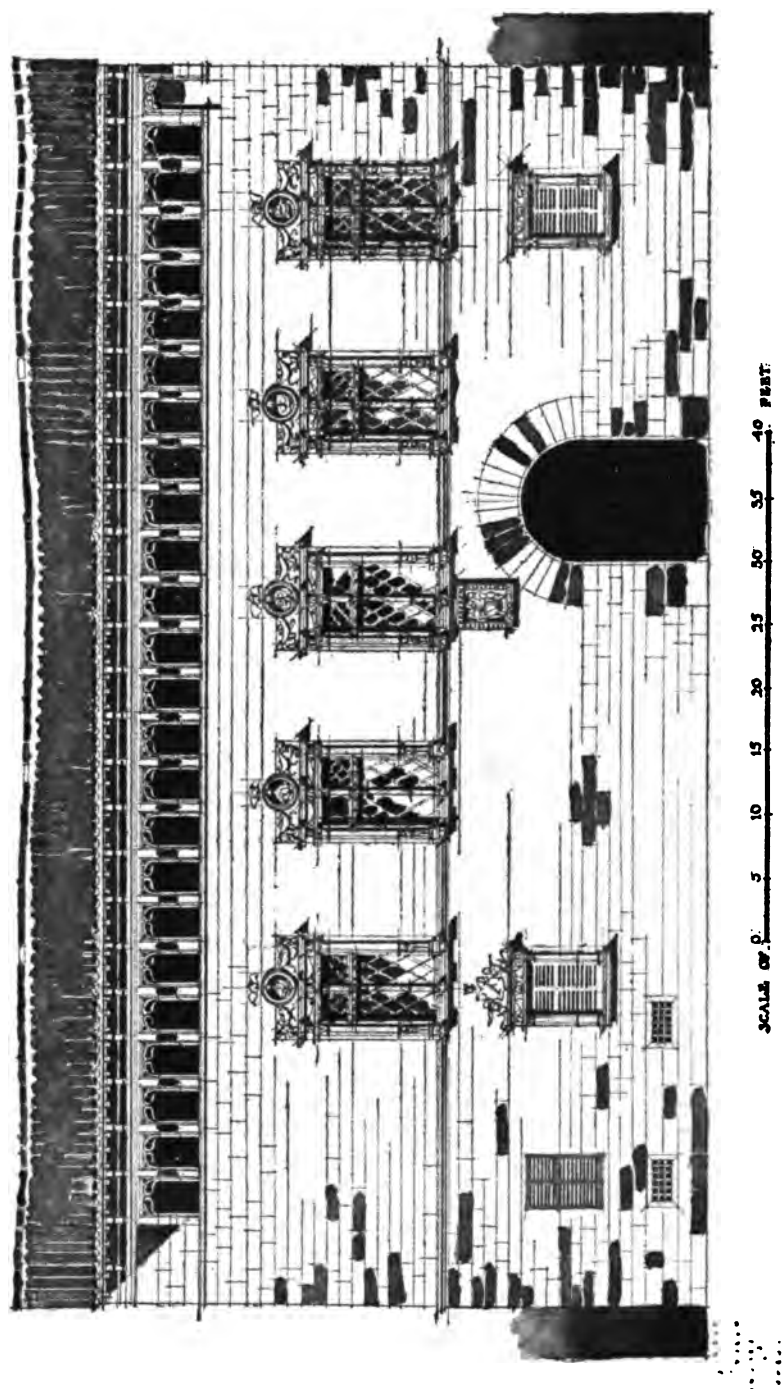
Interior stairs leading to the servants' apartments give the Palma plan a little more coherency than the average Spanish arrangement but the rooms are nevertheless merely a succession of vast chambers devoid of all architectural treatment



FIG. 123—Lofty Salon in the Casa O'Neil, Palma de Mallorca.

(Fig. 123). In many houses a seventeenth-century frescoist has been called in to paint a frieze around the main salon but architecturally all that the rooms offer are their impressive dimensions and their solidly framed ceilings of *madera encarnada* (red pine).

Examining a few of the Palma palaces in detail we find that the largest, the Vivot, has a façade reduced to nothing



ELEVATION OF THE CASA PALMER, PALMA DE MALLORCA.
Architect Unknown, dated 1556.

more than a stretch of wall pierced by four openings—entrance archway and three widely separated windows on the main floor. This house stands in the Calle Zavellá, a ten-foot street, yet it has a court measuring 60 feet by 90 not counting the



FIG. 124—Patio of the Casa Vivot, Palma de Mallorca.

spacious stairhall. Thus on entering one gets an impression of great amplitude, which statement may be only partially appreciated from Fig. 124. Six bays of varying dimensions make up the court but only one is open to the sky, the remaining five being covered by the main floor. The marble columns are a heavy stunted form of Corinthian coarsely interpreted. Owing to the narrowness of the street interior instead of exterior buttresses were frequently employed in Palma and may be seen much developed in this zaguán. There are entrances on several streets, thus inviting the populace to use this ground floor as a thoroughfare; noisy children play there but such is the democracy of the land that the family are entirely oblivious. The Vivot stairway is the most monumental in the city. It rises in a single cen-

tral run to the first landing and then continues in two side flights. This dictated a change in the vaulting sustaining the upper landing and so we see three spans instead of the usual single wide one. It is regrettable that the two back supports which form newels to the stair are not also columns instead of the more recent Baroque posts.

The interior (see plan, Fig. 122) is the typical series of lofty salons, many with painted friezes of the same style as those executed in the early eighteenth century by a Carthusian monk in the convent-church of Valldemosa. There is a quantity of interesting old furniture, tapestries, costumes, rich equestrian trappings, and family portraits. While these last are never masterpieces there is a solemnity about them which is in perfect harmony with the stately apartments they adorn. From this floor a terrace garden is reached overlooking a large court towards the front and also the street towards the back. This is a feature in so many houses that it would seem as if the Mallorquins demanded this little green supplement to their severe stone *zaguáns*. Facing this palace is another with a good Plateresque window in the cresting of which appears a bust of Charles V.

The Marqués de Palmer's house in the Calle del Sol has the finest façade in the city (Plate LXXII). Instead of having merely an isolated window or two on which embellishment has been bestowed the entire front has been treated architecturally although the fact is difficult to appreciate owing to the narrowness of Sun Street. The main and only entrance does not depart from the typical large round arch, severely plain and enclosing very heavy paneled doors built up of red pine. On either side the few windows are small and have the escutcheon over the architrave. Thus far the Palmer house is like many of its neighbors but at the main floor there is a difference for all the windows are richly treated and regularly spaced. The end one bears the legend "Finished April XI 1556." Unfortunately its companion at the other end has been ripped out and sold. All adornment here exhibits a Flemish touch particularly the tapering pilasters, superposed busts and diagonal panes of glass, these last seen else-

where in Palma but not on the mainland. As the balconies on the Sollerich house are known to have been received from Flanders in exchange for wine and oil, similar deals may account for other Flemish details seen in Palma. In the top

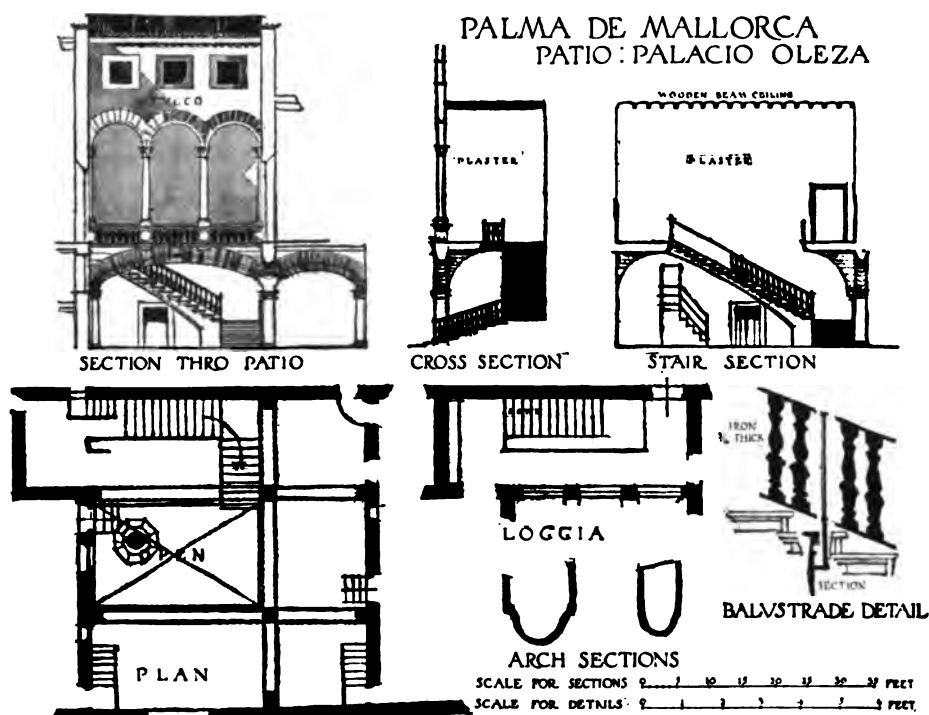


FIG. 125—Details from the Patio of the Oleza House, Palma de Mallorca.

story of the Palmer palace there is a complete return to insular traditions. The Gothic ventilatory loft extends across the entire front without one attempt to classicize it, a remark which could be equally applied to eighteenth-century buildings. Through its openings the simple roof construction is visible. First come the heavy rafters 6 or 8 feet on center, then the cross purlins 4 x 4 inches and nailed to these the battens which sustain the ridge-and-furrow tiles; battens are placed about 7 inches on center according to the size of the tiles and these are laid between them and held in place by their own weight. This makes an ideal roof in a climate which knows but little frost and no snow. In this house the zaguán and

stair have been too much modernized to be interesting but the interior is still typical—cavernous salons with painted friezes and hung with gorgeous red damask, an almost indispensable background for the fine old furniture. There is the

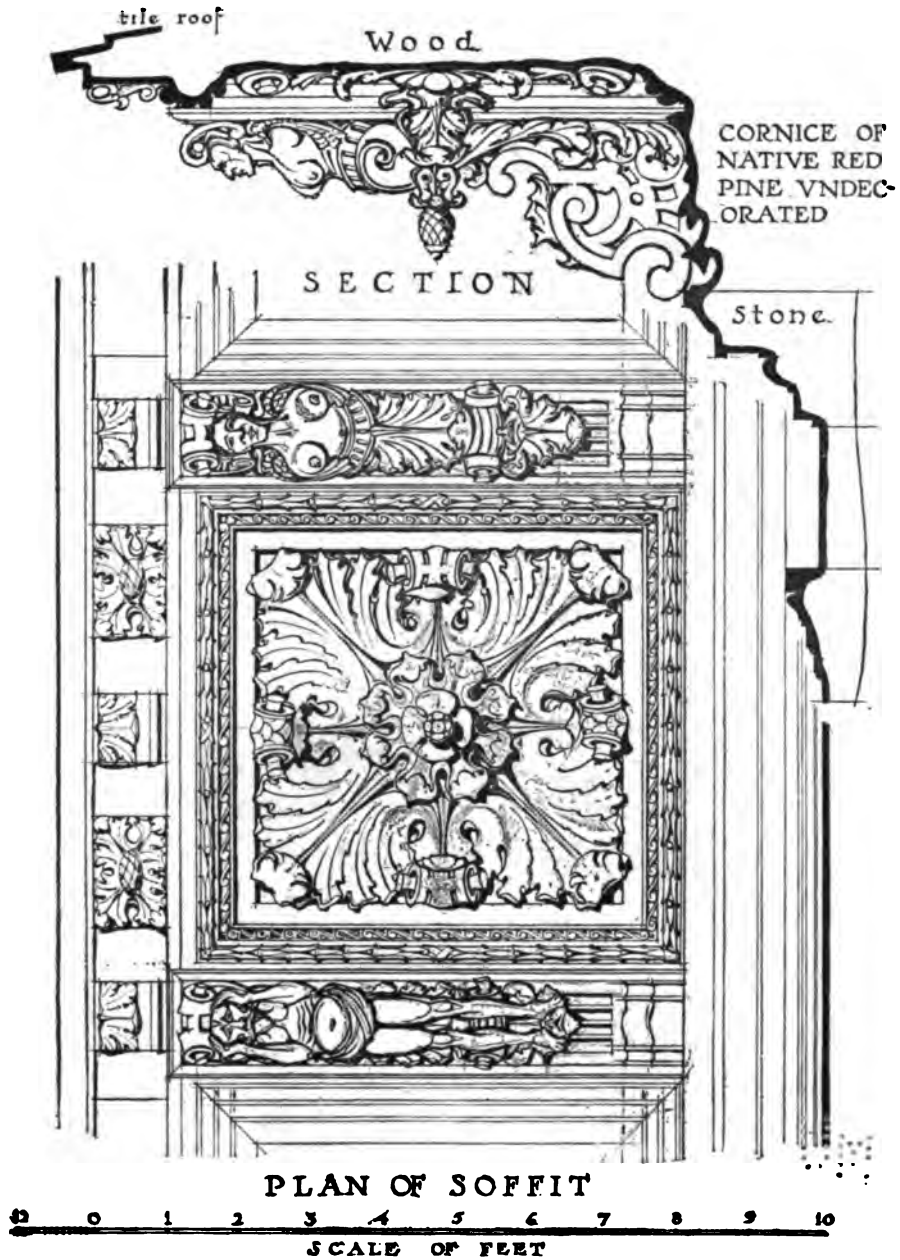


FIG. 126—Window in the Casa Villalonga, Palma de Mallorca.

secondary or garden patio, small and secluded, and filled with orange trees and date palms.

Another rambling palace is the previously mentioned Oleza in the Calle Morey. The façade was never finished but it has a few good windows, the usual plain rounded entrance, and good carved brackets upholding the wooden eaves. The façade is so long that these latter with the interminable repetition of the gallery motif underneath make a great impression as one turns into the narrow street. The zaguán here is smaller than others previously described and its stair arrangement

PALMA DE MALLORCA
CORNICE OF THE CASA CONSISTORIAL



WOODEN CORNICE OF THE CASA CONSISTORIAL, PALMA DE MALLORCA.

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simpler, all of which imparts a feeling of domesticity often lacking in larger examples. To the left and right on entering are the customary little half-story steps with carved doorways leading to the service portion of the house. This mezzanine



FIG. 127—Entrance to the Burga-Zaforteza House on the Borne, Palma de Mallorca.

scheme is made possible by building the stables and cellars partly below grade. The stairway here is particularly graceful in form (see Plate LXXI). Compared with those of the Vivot or Morell-Sollerich houses, both of the divided type, the single stair is more suitable for this reduced zaguán. It begins with a short run, turns a right angle and makes a long run to the stair loggia. This last run faces the zaguán and permits one on entering to appreciate the subtle sweep of its supporting arch. It is difficult to convey either by words or

drawings the system of these vaulted stairs and landings; but it hardly seems overstating the matter to say that stone surfaces were bent, warped, twisted, by these island builders with as much facility as if they had been of plastic material. For adornment the stair depends wholly upon its sheet iron balustrade. The only other feature to be noted in the patio besides the stairs and the two carved small doorways is the Plateresque window inserted in the stucco wall near the well; this shows some beautiful detail which is in marked contrast to the coarse carving of the capitals. Like many other windows it is based on Gothic forms though the little jamb colonnettes here have not the Gothic bases so often seen. From the stair loggia one enters the Oleza house by a *vestibulo* which surpasses most of its contemporaries in dimensions and impressiveness. This room is simplicity itself in treatment—whitewashed walls hung with solemn old portraits, a floor of huge stone slabs guiltless of a rug, a lofty ceiling framed with gigantic timbers of redwood, and severe unglazed casements protected by stout wooden shutters.

There are many more examples to examine in the city—the Casa O'Neill, the Burga-Zaforteza, the Villalonga, the Sollerich, this last of the eighteenth century but hardly differing from the others except in its French furniture of the Empire period and its exterior loggia overlooking the Borne. In practically every case the same characteristics will be noted; there is no finely executed carving, no style, no period of development. In poverty of design all are much alike, and all have the homely attractiveness of simplicity and good construction. In their very absence of refinement they have attained sufficient homogeneity to entitle them to consideration as a separate type.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INFLUENCE OF PHILIP II

PHILIP'S INTEREST IN ARCHITECTURE WHILE YET PRINCE—THE CHILL HE CAST OVER PLATERESQUE—FORETASTE OF HIS PREFERRED STYLE TO BE FOUND IN THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN TOLEDO—ITS FOUNDER ARCHBISHOP TAVERA RENOUNCES COVARRUBIAS AND SELECTS THE PRIEST BARTOLOMÉ BUSTAMENTE—BUSTAMENTE AND THE MAESTROS OF THE CATHEDRAL—SIMPLICITY OF THE PLAN—THE CHURCH OF THE HOSPITAL CONTAINING ARCHBISHOP TAVERA'S TOMB BY BERRUGUETE—THE ONLY COMPLETED QUADRANGLE OF THE PLAN—THE UNFINISHED FAÇADE AND LATER ADDITIONS—THE ROYAL ALCÁZAR OF TOLEDO AND THE CHANGE OF STYLE IN THE PLATERESQUE ARCHITECTS EMPLOYED ON IT—THE PATIO BY COVARRUBIAS AND THE STAIRWAY BY VILLALPANDO—THE PROVINCIAL HOSPITAL OF SEVILLE—THE PALACE AT SALDAÑUELA

CHAPTER XIII

THE INFLUENCE OF PHILIP II

THE Plateresque of Spain may be cited as an architectural style that had no decline. At a moment when it was far from showing deterioration, when in fact it was full of vitality, a monarch of overpoweringly cold and rigid temper ascended the throne. Philip II ruled from 1556 to 1598 but even before his reign actually commenced his father had given him the powers of regent, so that for over half a century he was in a position to impress an inflexible sternness on the Spanish court. This was reflected in all the arts but most specially in architecture to which the monarch gave a great deal of his personal attention. In his cabinet in the Madrid Alcázar he was surrounded by plans of the royal edifices in course of erection or reformation, and used to dock them of all levity in the shape of ornament. Thorough constructiveness, however, he always insisted on; structural beauty at least he was able to appreciate else he would never have stopped for two weeks in Mérida examining the Roman ruins. A law was made that no public building should be undertaken without first submitting the plans to the state architect Juan de Herrera, who met with his royal master twice a week and received as much of Philip's attention as did the prime minister. Small wonder that to this new order of things—to these initiators of the *Estilo Desornamentado*—the exuberant and pictorial charm of Plateresque were antipathetic. Architecture ceased to be spontaneous; the products of the latter half of the sixteenth century show a cold standardization.

The great monument of Philip's reign is the royal monas-

tery called the Escorial. This had no direct predecessor but a foretaste of its severity may be found in the Hospital de San Juan Bautista in Toledo and in the reforms made in the Alcázar in the same city; also in several religious monuments in outlying districts like Uclés and Alcántara. Of these early stages of classic the Toledan examples here described present a complete break with Enrique de Egas's innovation in that same city. They are of granite exclusively, which in itself forbade the wealth of carving that had enlivened Plateresque. Pedantic and without any of the sentiment which Machuca infused into his early classic attempt at Granada, they nevertheless command attention for their dignity and solidity. It is significant that the first distinguished patron of the new order in Toledo, the same cardinal-archbishop who had sanctioned Covarrubias's Plateresque in Alcalá, commissioned the first classic structure after having come in close touch with the already somber Prince Philip. It was about 1541 that Don Juan Tavera, Archbishop of Toledo, Grand Inquisitor, and Governor of Castile and León, decided to give Toledo another hospital. Heedless of the warning offered by Mendoza's unfinished foundation he too ordered an immense structure. This is the half-built Hospital de San Juan Bautista (Plate LXXIV) popularly known as the Hospital Afuera (outside) from its position outside the city walls.

For architect, Tavera turned from Covarrubias and chose his secretary, a priest named Bartolomé Bustamante. Bustamante had accompanied the cardinal to Naples in 1535 when he went there to receive Charles after the conquest of Tunis. That Bustamante had great feeling for the simplicity of Italian his work shows; also that he had a fine understanding of plan and construction; but there is no imagination in the product and one recognizes the approaching extinction of the creative spark. As to the extent of his connection with the hospital there is the usual amount of confusion. Doctor Salazar de Mendoza who published a life of Cardinal Tavera in 1603 says: "Through Bustamante's hands passed all the drawings and plans of the hospital because he was a very singular



HOSPITAL DE SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, TOLEDO.
Bartolomé Bustamante, Architect, 1541.

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architect"; but the same author also states that it was "built by the maestros mayores of the cathedral, specially Francisco Gonzales de Lara and Nicolas de Vergara and his son, who were all valiant in this art." A modern writer, the Vizconde de

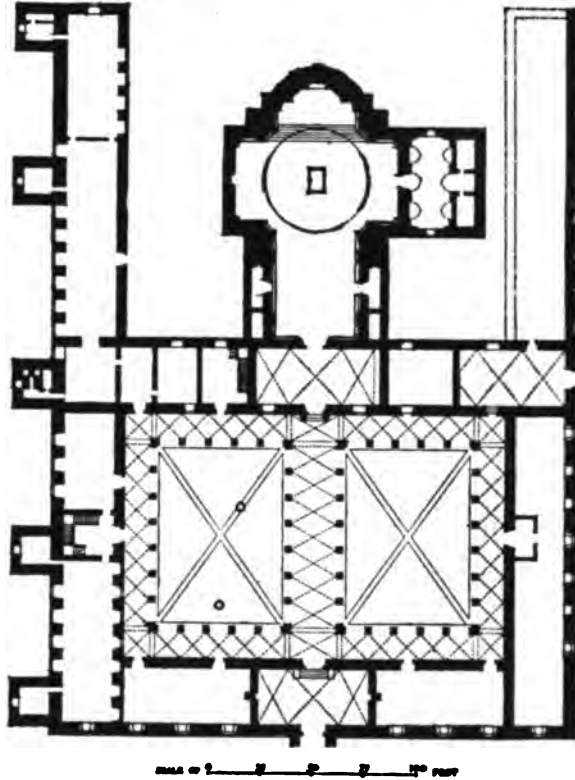


FIG. 128—Plan of the Hospital de San Juan Bautista, Toledo.
Bartolomé Bustamante, Architect, 1541 et seq.

Palazuelos, declares in his *Guia de Toledo* that it was not until Bustamante had entered the Jesuit Society in 1552 that the maestros of the cathedral intervened, which was probably the case. These Vergaras were typical Castilians from Burgos and accustomed to the Spanish version of Renaissance, whereas the entire conception of the San Juan Bautista is so Italian that there can be little doubt of the learned priest's authorship, the others having been called in to assist in the practical working out of the scheme.

The original plan was for an edifice covering an area of 260 by 350 feet and embracing two vast quadrangles. Fig. 128 indicates how much of this was carried out. The first quadrangle is divided into two patios by means of a two-storied arcade—a motif not met with elsewhere in Spain and here used on a much more monumental scale than in any example in Italy. In the second and unfinished quadrangle stands the chapel on axis with the gallery. It was built between 1561 and 1624 and is in reality a fair-sized church with a lofty dome, bare in treatment and interesting chiefly because it holds the cardinal's sumptuous tomb by Berruguete (Plate LXXV) and his fine portrait by El Greco (who also designed the large retablo). The tomb is conceived in a much more classic spirit than this sculptor's earlier productions thereby losing some of his Spanish quality. It was his last work, for he died while at it "in the room under the clock" according to the hospital archives. In this rear quadrangle nothing else but the church was ever completed and the rest is in a neglected condition; but the first enclosure with its arcade and two Doric patios was finished under Bustamante and, although academic in execution, is an impressive arrangement. The arcaded gallery is vaulted and carries around the lines of the patio each side of it (see Fig. 130). Every material but stone was banished from the structure, and the change from trabeation with its accompanying decorated wooden ceiling marks one of the most striking departures from earlier Spanish architecture; yet with all its stoniness the Hospital de Afuera escaped that cold precision which dominates later classic buildings. The interior is too strictly utilitarian to detain one, but a visit to the pharmacy is worth while for the sake of its original supply of Talavera apothecary jars with their old-fashioned contents indicated in quaint Gothic lettering. Along the north side of the building where the grade falls away is a series of buttresses so gigantic as to contain stairways and small rooms. A descent to the vast cellars and store-rooms reveals the very impressive masonry of the *soubassement* where, curiously enough, some of the vaulting is still Gothic.

If Padre Bartolomé had remained at his work long enough



TOMB OF CARDINAL TAVERA IN THE HOSPITAL DE SAN JUAN BAPTISTA, TOLEDO.
Berruguete, Sculptor, 1561

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to finish off the façade with the stone cornice appropriate to its Florentine design and treatment, one would not have to regret the patched-out top, along with a poor eighteenth-century portal, which prevents us from justly appreciating



FIG. 129—Arcade Between Two Patios of the Hospital de San Juan Bautista (Afuera), Toledo.

Fray Bartolomé Bustamante, Architect, 1541.

the architect. The front is a forceful design in rustication, a practice seldom encountered in Spain except in a decorative way. But it is the fenestration most of all that dissociates the façade from previous buildings of the century, for it is absolutely symmetrical. While in this case the disposition is excellent, it proved a bad precedent; soon after, fenestration degenerated into multiple tiresome openings that corresponded to no interior requirement and the charm of blank wall treatment was forever lost sight of.

Bustamente appears to have done some building in Andalusia also and it is frequently stated that he built the chapel of Seville University—an edifice so undistinctive that anyone might have built it. At any rate, his most important incur-



FIG. 130—Window in the Hospital de San Juan Bautista, Toledo.

sion into the field of architecture was the Hospital in Toledo. Little is known about him though he moved in the most distinguished *milieu* of the day. He was learned—one of the early graduates of Cardinal Jiménez's University of Alcalá. After entering the *Compañía de Jesús* (the Jesuit Society) he accompanied its vicar general Francisco de Borja on his visit to Charles V in his monastery at Yuste.

The imposing Alcázar of Toledo is a much more difficult building to study in its relation to the period in question, it being an amorphous castle of several styles, burnt down and restored many times (see plan, Fig. 131). It was in 1557 that Charles V appointed Alonso de Covarrubias and Luis de Vega to remodel both it and the royal Alcázar of Madrid,

the curious order reading that the architects were to be paid twenty-five thousand maravedises each, "with the which each was to reside six months with the respective works, three months at a time; and that besides this sum they should be

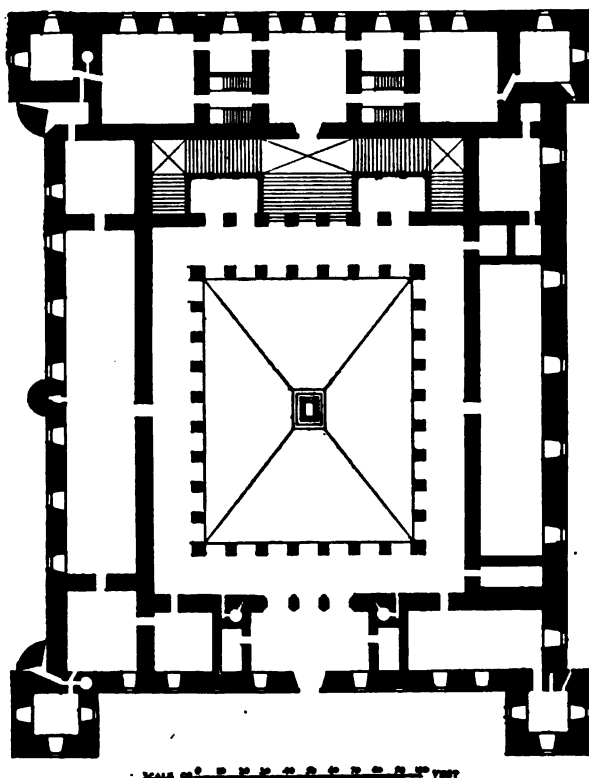


FIG. 131—Plan of the Real Alcázar, Toledo.

paid on every day of the said six months four reales for maintenance." Afterwards Charles with the hope of hastening matters decided to dissociate the collaborators, allotting the Madrid castle (now destroyed) to De Vega and the Toledo to Covarrubias. Covarrubias, it will be recalled, was at the time *maestro mayor de las obras reales* and was also busy on the Alcalá palace for Cardinal Tavera. Whether, before this change was made by the impatient emperor, the two architects had together finished the Toledo design or whether it was the idea of Covarrubias after he had begun to work alone, is hard to say. Llaguno takes the former view but

gives no reason for doing so; and further claims that the patio was executed under Gonzales de Lara, then Gaspar de Vega, and lastly Francisco de Villalpando who finished it in 1554. Villalpando also designed the grand stairway, though it looks far more like Herrera's work. These points are difficult to settle now since those touches which might reveal the various authorships have disappeared and only the larger outlines are left. The Alcázar was burned in the war of the Spanish Succession (1710). After Cardinal Lorenzana had made a thorough restoration at enormous cost the French set fire to it in 1810; and in 1887 it was the victim of a third conflagration. On each of these sinister occasions it was the stately patio of Covarrubias that suffered most. The massive outside granite walls stood the ordeal better but offer little of special architectural interest. There is a portal of archaic charm on the west side (ordered in the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns) and attributed by some to Covarrubias and by others to his brother-in-law, the younger Enrique de Egas. Also of interest are the portal and windows of the north side, built, it is said, by the elder Egas but too dry and perfunctory to be his. The sculpture on this portal is by Juan de Mena and while very correct, it too is lifeless. In fact the only spirited note on the façade is the carving on the first story windows by Berruguete.

The most monumental feature of the interior is the grand stairway leading from the rear of the patio. In its dimensions it is one of the most impressive in Europe and if by Villalpando, shows an appreciation of classic simplicity not to be found in his ironwork. This refers to the *reja* of the capilla mayor of Toledo Cathedral (1548) which, while full of charming detail, is hardly satisfactory in the ensemble. It has been recently established that this *rejero* and architect was one of a famous family of plaster workers in Valladolid and this may explain the delicacy of his ironwork; as to his grasp of the broader principles of architecture exhibited in the Alcázar stairway, it may be due to his having completed a short time before (1551) his translation of Serlio. The stair, still denuded of all treatment as a result of the last fire, is

imposing now only through its fine proportions and its solid masonry. The patio is less colossal but nevertheless of considerable dignity. Built entirely of granite its coarse detail is well suited to that stone, and the corners where the



FIG. 132—Patio of the Real Alcázar, Toledo.
Attributed to Alonso de Covarrubias.

arcading intersects offer a particularly good solution of this always perplexing problem. Throughout the patio classic precedents prevail (see Fig. 132); still there is a departure from cut and dried rules as laid down by Vignola which has resulted in an interest sadly lacking in later day work. The triple arch motif (Fig. 133) by which the patio is entered is specially good and its mould sections worthy of notice. In the little pineapple pendants of the soffit of the arch may be observed a free touch undeniably Spanish.

It must be borne in mind by the student who examines

the Alcázar that it is not a sign of the men employed but of the times. What Covarrubias left there has nothing in common with the versatile Plateresque architect who designed the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos and the patio at Alcalá;



FIG. 133—Entrance from Vestibule to Patio of the Real Alcázar, Toledo.

similarly the massive stairway seems wholly unrelated to that exuberant offshoot of the Villalpando *yeseros* who created the wealth of minute Plateresque ornament on the reja and pulpits in the cathedral. In this center of Castile a coming event was casting its shadow before. Philip, whose earnest study of the classic must be admitted, had begun while still a prince to interfere with his father's architects; as for instance when he ordered Covarrubias not to leave Toledo for any other work but to devote all his attention to the Alcázar.

This same sobering influence was early felt even beyond Castile for in Seville we find Martin Gainza and Hernán Ruiz, two men who had produced rich unbridled Plateresque in the cathedral, suddenly conforming to the royal taste. Their



SPANDREL OVER MAIN PORTAL OF THE HOSPITAL PROVINCIAL, SEVILLE.

Ascribed to Pietro Torrigiani.

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Hospital Provincial or de la Sangre, on which Ruiz was working at his death in 1559, is a great bare rectangle accentuated at the corners by low towers. The façade (Fig. 134) is divided into equal stories with no variation of motif from one end



FIG. 134—Hospital Provincial (de la Sangre), Seville.
Martin Gainza and Hernán Ruiz, Architects, 1559 et seq.

to the other except a poor entrance of later date; but if like all the work of this period it is monotonous, it is impressively so. The interior is lifted out of dullness by the several bright patios treated in ajulejos, stucco, and marble. The plan is so direct and practical that it might well serve for a similar institution to-day. Only on the chapel was anything architectural attempted. This is said to have been designed by

Ruiz who will be recalled for his upper stage of the Giralda. It is distinctive, but of that calculated precision seen in the following century in the Sagrario adjacent to the cathedral and in the Hospital de la Caridad. Just to what extent Gainza



FIG. 135—Ruined Palace at Saldañuela, near Burgos.

was responsible in the Hospital Provincial is not known but there is nothing here to suggest the cooperation of the architect who designed the royal chapel of the cathedral with its opulent ornamentation. It is more than likely that many architects followed each other on both the hospital and the chapel mentioned; there is record of an Italian employed by the Duke of Alba being called in on Ruiz's death, and Ceán Bermudez mentions still another. A late Sevillian structure of more classic ambitions is the chapel of the university built for the Jesuits between 1565 and 1579 and long erroneously attributed to Bartolomé Bustamante. The exterior, a massive pile of brick crowned by a polychrome cupola, is more interesting than the very orthodox interior. Also in brick is Herrera's Lonja, described in the next chapter. Fig. 135 is an example of domestic architecture in this late style, but almost too interesting to be typical. It is in Saldañuela on

the highroad from Burgos to Lerma (in which town are the ruins of the vast palace of the Dukes of Lerma). The popular and unrepeatable name of the Saldañuela house indicates the use it was put to or for which, perhaps, it was deliberately built. The architect is unknown and the only clue to his client is the fact that the corner consols in the ball-room windows have portraits said to be of Philip II and the intriguing Princess Eboli. These place it well in the latter half of the century, (although Señor Lampérez prefers 1530). With no house near it and an extensive huerta behind, it is more like the isolated Italian villa than any other Spanish example, yet like all Spanish palaces it stands full on the dusty highroad without approach of any sort. Although much later than the Hospital del Rey in Burgos it too upsets geographical theories by bearing more resemblance to the Salamantine than the Burgos school. The west or main façade is unsymmetrical, being flanked on the south by a huge bare bastion dating from the time of Peter the Cruel who had a castle here. Much of the original effect is lost by the blocking up of the loggia but fortunately a charming little window and balcony at the north end remain untouched. In plan the house consists of the customary patio and surrounding galleries from which the rooms open, and the galleries are connected by a claustral stairway. The patio is severe but relieved on the south wall by an interesting motif of blind arches between which are little columns in half relief with delicate capitals. None of the apartments are complete enough to reward inspection, for the building was never finished and suffers from extreme dilapidation. It is now a farmhouse with a hopeless confusion of agricultural implements and domestic animals in all the lower rooms. There are other isolated palaces throughout Castile which have shaken off the levities of Plateresque to a much greater degree than this. Indeed one can account for Philip's retaining it here only as a concession to the lady in question; but in domestic work to a far greater extent than in civil, is the *Estilo Desornamentado* unsympathetic; it resulted in big bare houses devoid of all charm.

CHAPTER XIV

JUAN DE HERRERA AND THE LATTER PART OF THE CENTURY

THE ESCORIAL THE GREAT MONUMENT OF PHILIP'S REIGN—HIS SEVERAL MOTIVES FOR BUILDING IT—THE ESCORIAL COMPARED WITH THE VATICAN—PHILIP'S CHOICE OF JUAN BAUTISTA DE TOLEDO AS ARCHITECT—THE MONARCH'S SOLICITUDE IN CHOOSING AN APPROPRIATE SITE FOR THE MONASTERY—JUAN BAUTISTA'S SPLENDID SOUBASSEMENT—GRIDIRON PLAN OF THE BUILDING—PHILIP'S PROMPTITUDE IN ORDERING FURNISHINGS AND MATERIALS—HIS DECISION TO INCREASE THE CAPACITY OF THE MONASTERY AND THE ADDITION OF A THIRD STORY—EARLY DEATH OF JUAN BAUTISTA—HIS SUCCESSOR JUAN DE HERRERA, AN ASTURIAN—COMPLETION OF THE COLOSSAL STRUCTURE—FOREIGN ARCHITECTS CLAIMING TO HAVE BUILT IT—ITS GREAT ACHIEVEMENT NOT IN ARCHITECTURE AS A FINE ART, BUT IN SCHEME—DOME OF THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO MICHELANGELO'S AND THE ELDER SANGALLO'S—HERRERA'S ARCHITECTURALIZING OF THE PRINCIPAL FAÇADE—ANALYSIS OF THE PLAN—COMPARISON BETWEEN JUAN BAUTISTA AND HERRERA—REMAINING PRODUCTIONS OF THESE TWO—HERRERA'S CATHEDRAL IN VALLADOLID—HIS SMALL PALACE IN PLASENCIA—THE PUENTE DE SEGOVIA IN MADRID—THE LONJA IN SEVILLE—THOROUGH CONFORMITY OF ALL IMPORTANT NEW EDIFICES TO HERRERA'S AND PHILIP'S TYPE AND UTTER EXTINCTION OF THE CREATIVE SPARK

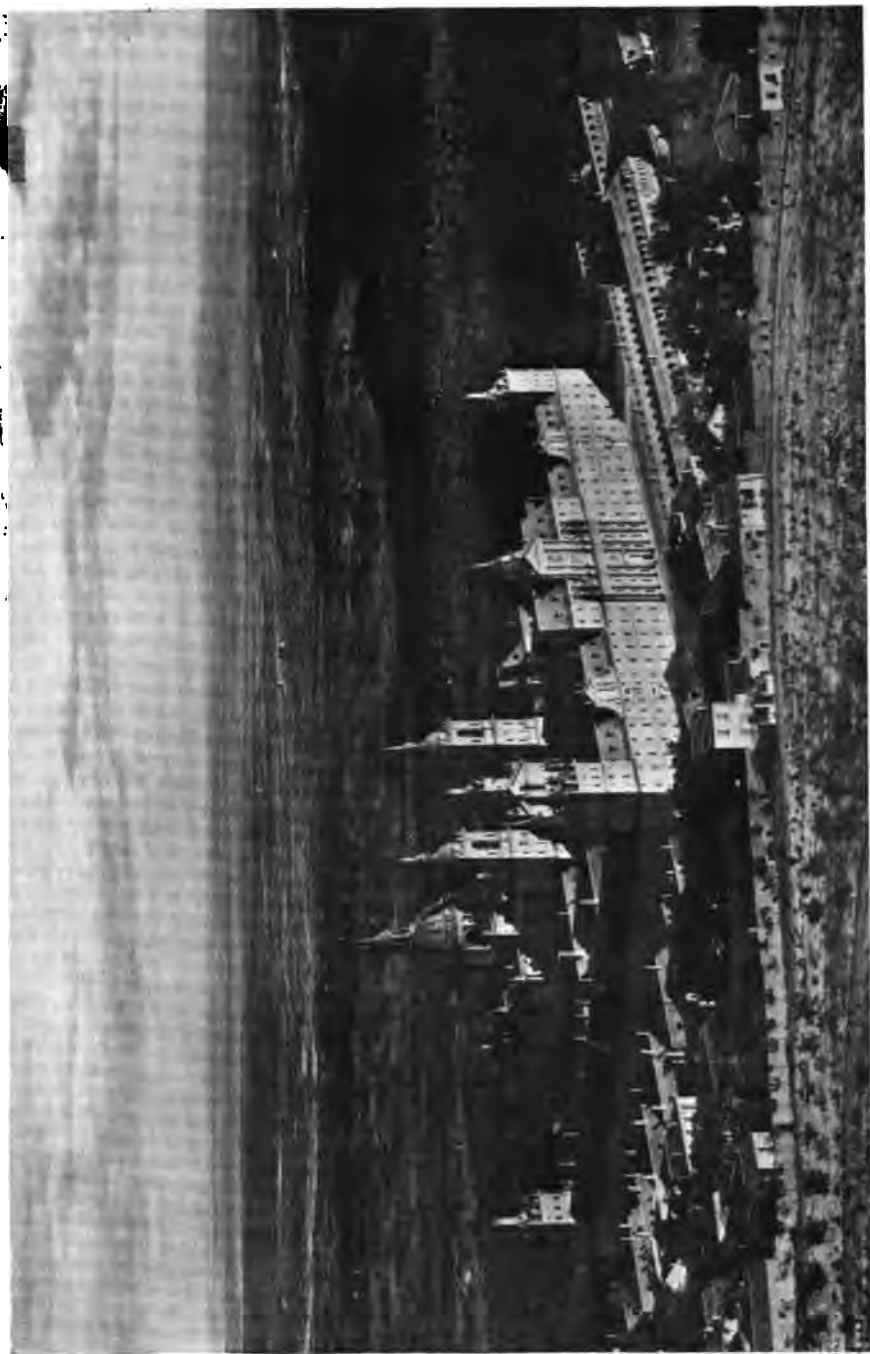
CHAPTER XIV

JUAN DE HERRERA AND THE LATTER PART OF THE CENTURY

THE Escorial (Plate LXXVII) is often referred to as the eighth wonder of the world. Its magnitude, its simplicity, and its marvelous setting against the grim granite mountains entitle it to the proud claim. It was built when Spain had about reached her greatest limits of expansion. Philip II was ruling over not only Spain, but also the Low Countries including the French duchy of Burgundy, the Rousillon in Provence, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Sardinia, northern Africa, and, vastest of all, America. Small wonder that the monarch of a realm where *nunca se ponía el sol* should create an eighth marvel for the modern world. As to the motives that prompted him to build El Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo (commonly known by the name of the little town beside it) there are various versions. Power like Philip's could not go long undisputed. Hardly had his father abdicated in his favor when Pope Paul IV, chafing under the presence of the Spaniards in Italy, claimed that their sovereign had lost his right to Naples by not paying sufficient tribute to the Holy See. The Pope called upon Henry II of France for aid and Philip in reply brought across the Channel the troops of his English wife and cousin Mary Tudor. The French were defeated at the first encounter—St. Quentin—on August 10, 1557. It was mainly to commemorate this victory, that, according to some, the Escorial was built; and in order to make reparation to St. Laurence whose monastery had been destroyed by Philip's forces (a "military necessity") the huge new building was dedicated to that saint and martyr.

However, given Philip's unlimited resources and his very genuine devotion to architecture it is quite probable that he would have perpetuated himself in a colossal foundation, the St. Quentin victory or no. And given, furthermore, his intense piety, such a monument would inevitably have been ecclesiastical. Being bound by the terms of his father's will to build a mausoleum for the Hapsburgs he decided to combine this with a monastery for the Hieronymites, an order newly arrived in Spain and much favored by the late Emperor. But even all these circumstances would not explain the hugeness of the granite pile in the Guadarramas without closer examination of Philip's attitude toward the great European question of the day—the Reformation. While still merely regent Philip was arduously occupied in stamping out heresy. His imperial father had resolved to make Spain the champion of the Catholic faith against the fast-gaining Lutheranism; and from his cloistered retreat of San Jerónimo de Yuste Charles wrote and counseled his successor "to burn the contumacious and of those who recanted to cut off their heads without exception whatever as to rank." It may have been as an earnest of his inflexible purpose to maintain Catholicism triumphant that Philip conceived the grandest monument to the faith ever built—"Catholicism firmly planted on the earth, sure of itself, exclusive, immense." Only the Vatican, with St. Peter's, could be compared to the Escorial in scale and solemnity; and while there is not one one-hundredth of the art in the Spanish that there is in the Italian monument, still the former, as a majestic and awe-inspiring scheme, comes nearer to the grandeur of antiquity than anything erected in Italy during the Renaissance.

Once the idea had shaped itself in Philip's mind he prosecuted it with the same pious vigor that he devoted to the eradicating of heresy. While still in Flanders he decided upon his architect; not one of those who had been working under him on the various royal palaces—Covarrubias, the younger Machuca, Villalpando—for they had not studied antiquity at the fountain-head; but in Naples (Spanish territory, it must be recalled) there was living and working a



EL REAL MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DEL ESCORIAL.
Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, Architects, 1560-84.

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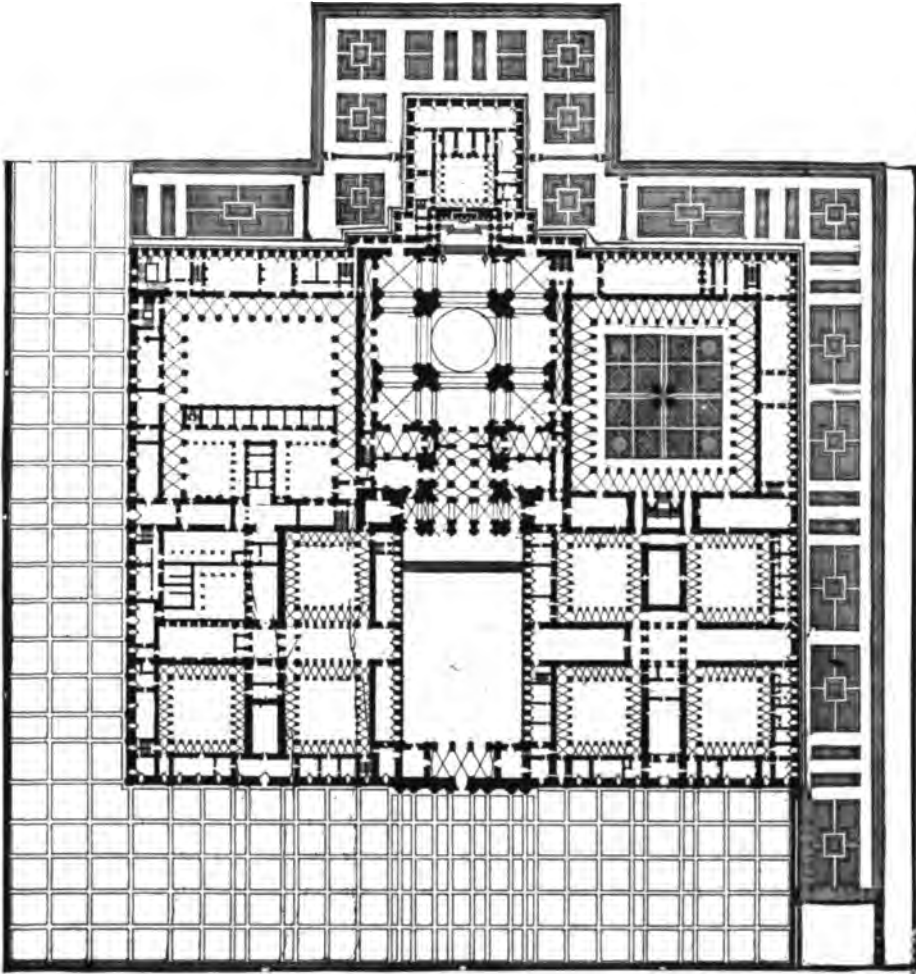
Spaniard who had been employed on St. Peter's by Michelangelo and whom the Viceroy had called to his service. This architect was Juan Bautista de Toledo, who is said to have laid out many streets and squares in Naples and to have built the Church of Santiago, the Palace of San Erasmo, and the Viceroy's palace. In 1559 he received Philip's summons, sent from Ghent, to meet the sovereign in Madrid.

The choosing of a site was a much greater difficulty for the monarch than the choosing of an architect. Many months were passed in seeking a spot that would be salubrious and near enough to serve as a retreat from Madrid. To these conditions must be added another for which the king should receive more credit than is generally given him—the site must be austere and noble, for no other would be worthy of the ever expanding project that now possessed the royal builder completely.¹ At last it was found some thirty miles northwest of Madrid on a southern spur of the Guadarrama Mountains and at an altitude of some three thousand four hundred feet. It overlooks a miserable little hamlet called El Escorial (the place where are thrown out the *scoriae*, or refuse, of mines). Meanwhile Juan Bautista de Toledo was busy with the plans and made a complete model in wood. All of 1562 and the spring of 1563 were passed in leveling and draining the site and laying the gigantic foundations which comprise a huge and splendidly built substructure of masonry. To all this Juan Bautista gave his closest attention and too much cannot be said for the thoroughness and skill of the work. In order to minimize the exposure to the fierce winds and to give a maximum of sun to the royal apartments, he did not orient his building exactly with the cardinal points of the compass. His plan (Plate LXXVIII) was simplicity itself—a rectangle of 675 feet by 530 feet with a square tower at

¹ Professor Justi, after qualifying the building as a monument of repulsive dryness, an inevitable result of Philip's niggling criticism and his somber habit of docking the designs submitted to him of all that seemed over rich or too ostentatious, adds: "And the great charm of the Escorial as forming, as it were, a part of the landscape in which it is set, was one *not* contemplated by its builders." (Philip II als Kunstfreund, von Carl Justi.) But considering the monarch's minute instructions to the engineers, architects, and doctors who scoured the countryside for him, as well as his own personal explorations, this conclusion is not justifiable.

each of the four corners. The division of this space into three equal zones of which the southern was the convent, the northern the palace, and the central the church with the king's own apartments grouped around the *capilla mayor*, gave rise to the popular legend that the plan was based on the form of the gridiron whereby the Spanish San Lorenzo had suffered martyrdom. It is not unlikely that Philip himself either saw this resemblance or suggested it in advance, considering his morbid tendencies.

The corner-stone of the monastery, with the architect's name inscribed on it, was laid under the prior's seat in the refectory on April 23, 1563. The work was pushed rapidly, with Philip ever in attendance. Indeed, the great edifice occupied all his hours for even when not present he was dictating instructions for the founding of statues in Milan, the making of *rejas* in Zaragoza and Cuenca, and of lamps, *candelabra* and silver crosses in Toledo; for the cutting of the mighty Cuenca pines in the Guadarrama region as far west as Avila, and for the quarrying of jasper and marble in Burgo de Osma, Las Navas, and other spots; and finally in the regular checking off of the accounts. Hardly had the walls begun to rise when the king changed his mind as to the size—he decided to double the number of monks who were to have the custody of his parents' tombs and “to make and to say continuous prayers, sacrifices, and commemorations for their souls” to quote his letter of foundation. The accommodation of these extra monks appears to have met with no ready solution from Juan Bautista, but his supervisor, Fray Antonio de Villacastin, the monk who had prepared the royal apartments for the Emperor at Yuste, came forward with a practical suggestion, namely: that as the substructure was unusually heavy a third story might be added to Juan Bautista's two. The king instantly approved and the monks hailed the practical idea as divine inspiration; but we are not told whether the architect dared protest against increasing the height of his relatively low walls. At any rate the friar's scheme was adopted and the work proceeded accordingly. But in 1567 the architect died; “a man” wrote Padre Sigüenza, historian



PLAN OF THE ROYAL MONASTERY OF THE ESCORIAL.
Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, Architects, 1560-84.
Scale 200 feet to the inch.

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of the Hieronymite Order "of many parts, a sculptor, and one who understood drawing, who knew Latin and Greek, and who had considerable knowledge of philosophy and mathematics." The chief assistant, Juan de Herrera, was chosen



FIG. 136—South Façade of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial.

Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, Architects, 1560-84.

to succeed as royal architect and it is with his name that the gigantic building is always associated to the somewhat unjust exclusion of Juan Bautista's.

Herrera, who had been with Charles V in Flanders and Italy as an officer of the royal bodyguard, was a man of strong character and as formal as his new master. To what extent the Escorial represents his personal interpretation of classic, and to what extent he merely executed his predecessor's plans, it would be difficult to say; but certainly he was as thoroughly in sympathy with his task as if he himself had been in charge from the beginning. The work went on expeditiously. Funds were gathered by devious means, unpaid workmen were prevailed upon also by devious means, until the last stone was

laid in the Patio de los Reyes in 1582, twenty years after the first in the refectory. One immense architectural project of the sixteenth century had reached completion. Its fame soon spread through Europe and there were not lacking both French and Italian writers to promptly claim it for their own architects who, they explain, had submitted designs on the request of Philip's ambassadors. Indeed the latest edition of the *Diccionario Encyclopédico* states that Juan de Herrera was most useful to his king in helping him choose an Italian design, that of one Pacciolo, which was an exact copy of the Vatican, and which the Spanish architect proceeded to alter and accommodate to the Escorial site. To the student, such pretensions would appear absurd even if Juan Bautista's name were *not* inscribed on the corner-stone. It is true that St. Peter's served as inspiration for the Escorial church (although the Spanish dome is a far finer piece of construction); and also it is true that Juan Bautista owed his magnificent sense of plan to Rome, but to ancient Rome, and not the heterogeneous Vatican. The Escorial, as an ensemble, is the joint product of a ponderous Spanish king and a classically inclined Spanish architect. Its severity, its pessimism, its determination to conquer by sheer weight and mass, its utter absence of esthetic appeal, would have been inconceivable to an Italian or a Frenchman. No architect who had not seen and studied the Guadarrama range could have designed it, for the building is "stone of its stone and strong of its strength." Juan de Herrera undoubtedly made minor changes in his inherited task as he proceeded, but the idea remains practically that of the man who prepared the mighty foundations—one crystallized concept from beginning to end.

The great achievement here is not architecture as a fine art but scheme; and if one's first sight of the pile were obtained from the heights to the northwest where the whole disposition is apparent, instead of from the lower level where one comes face to face with the crudity of the detail and the almost shocking coarseness of the main entrance, one would not have to overcome a first unfavorable impression. But as it is, not until passing around to the south and viewing that façade

(Fig. 136) and the garden of the monks from across the reservoir, does one really feel attracted to this monument of Philip's egotism. From here, too, the admirable setting is best appreciated; how the whole is made to spread over the terrain with



FIG. 137—Dome of the Church, Monastery of the Escorial.

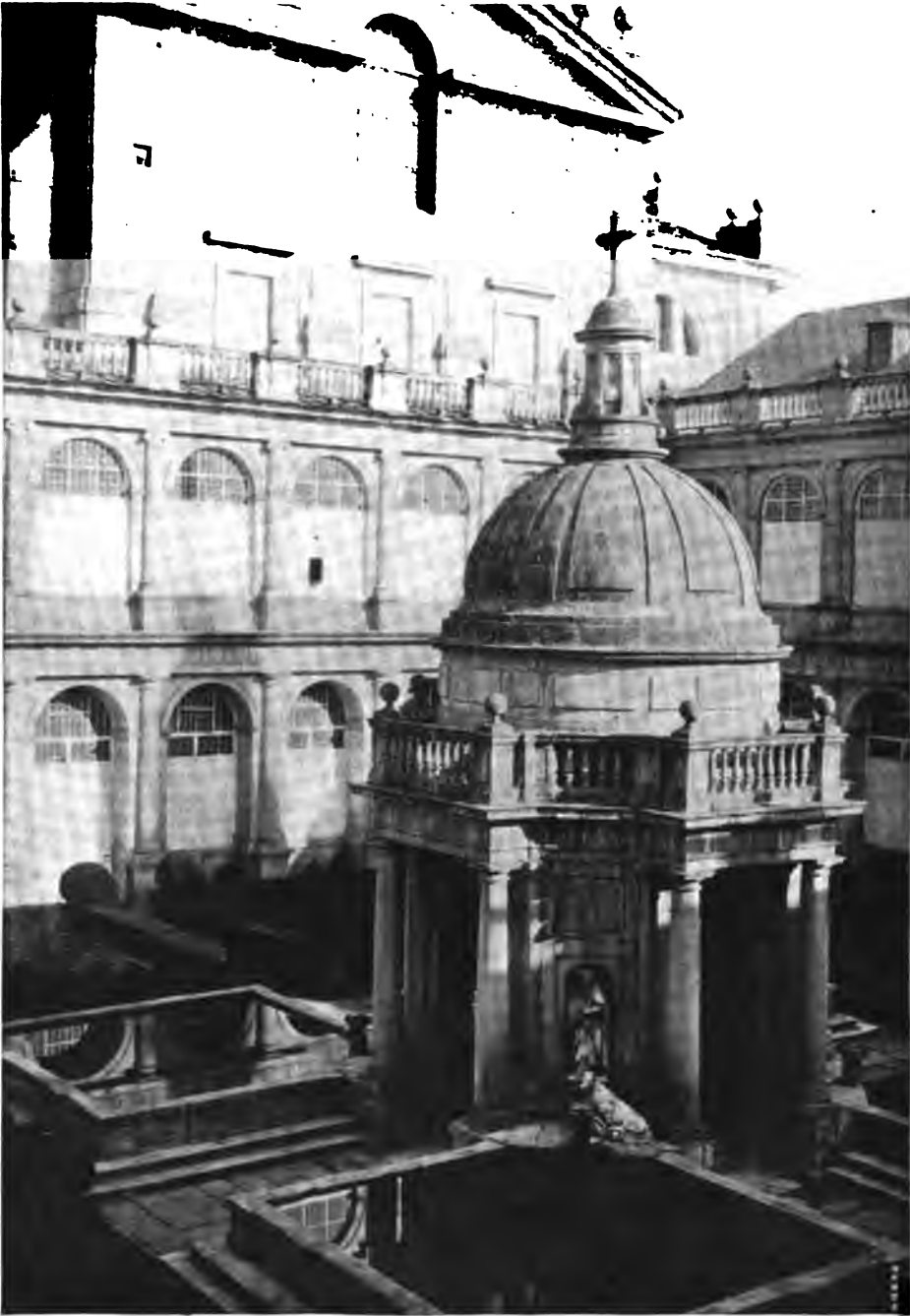
Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, Architects, 1560-84.

a remarkable feeling of structurability, by means of the garden platform with its retaining walls of granite and the colossal plinth on which the monastery rests. The planting, limited to this garden platform, reflects the severity of the buildings. Devoid of color it is marked off in rectangular plots of clipped box whose methodical spacing is interrupted only by occasional staircases which lead down to the many grottos that

honeycomb the site. Not one non-essential—vase, balustrade, or moulding—mitigates the determined severity of the whole and the result is, at least in congruence, irreproachable.

Looking from this close range the one feature visible above the outer walls is the dome of the church (Fig. 137), and this is as assertively solid as the more angular mass below. No superficialities were permitted in its adornment either inside or out; and the absence of Herrera's favorite pyramids so freely used on the western or main entrance, inclines one to suspect that Philip's was the restraining hand. The drum is treated with coupled Doric pilasters with niches between; the arched openings are deep and effectively recessed, and here, as elsewhere, not a moulding is ornamented. There is nothing, it will be seen, to recall the sumptuousness of its incentive, Saint Peter's; but the dome in its structural perfection far surpasses that of Michelangelo. It closely resembles, allowing for its greater scale, that on the little church of Montepulciano by the elder Sangallo. Both show that unity possible only where the work was started and completed by one architect.

Of the monastery façades the principal or west is the least satisfactory. Herrera, in the attempt to architecturalize it, weakened it. Most discordant is the central motif embracing the main entrance, for in it all his favorite forms appear—gigantic superposed orders, pyramidal pinnacles, and curved flanking buttresses. The manner of using all these leaves much to be desired. The engaged columns of the lower story, for instance, would be better if exposed three quarters instead of merely one half of their diameter; while in the triglyphs, modillion blocks, and main cornice above, there is some execrable detail. This is inexplicable, for in the interior of the church the order is beautifully carried out. Fortunately the windows escaped treatment; throughout the building they are the same little unaccentuated spots framed by four blocks of granite—two verticals, lintel, and sill; and the lintel, by projecting beyond the verticals, imparts an archaic appearance to the opening. The diminutiveness and uniformity of these innumerable openings do much to augment the scale of the scheme.



PATIO DE LOS EVANGELISTAS, REAL MONASTERIO DE SAN LORENZO DEL ESCORIAL.

Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, Architects, 1560-84.

The plan of the Escorial as an architectural achievement is one of the most notable of the sixteenth century. The fact that it was produced in a land where the science of planning had thus far been slighted makes it doubly interesting. Though



FIG. 138—High Altar of the Church, Monastery of the Escorial.

in parts strongly influenced by Italian work it still preserves the traditional Spanish idea—that the mass be enclosed within a walled rectangle as opposed to the open plan with broken perimeter. This basic idea must have especially suited a man of Philip's exclusiveness, for the narrow ribbon of outside rooms practically forms a vast wall enclosing monastery, church, and palace. Thus regarded, the church is the nucleus of the plan and occupies with its atrium the center of the scheme. This atrium or Patio de los Reyes finds its counterpart in earlier Spanish monasteries like Santas Creus and Veruela where the church rises at the end of a forecourt.

As to the plan of the church, Juan Bautista while in Rome must have heard much discussion over the various *partis* submitted for St. Peter's. It was one of these, but not that of his master Michelangelo, that he chose as his prototype; instead, the Spaniard's preference was the Greek cross which Peruzzi had striven so hard to make the Pope accept. To be sure the church of the Escorial has a short western arm, but as this is vaulted over to create a vast coro for the army of monks who were to sing there, the effect is one of a plan of equal arms. It appears reasonable to accept this church entire as the expression of Juan Bautista de Toledo. Although he died in the early stages of the work, there can be little doubt that his successor faithfully followed his drawings, since nothing of Herrera's personal work shows the same high disdain for falsities. He, on the contrary, was ever ready to resort to those sham *frontons* and other meaningless motifs which one would more naturally look for in Michelangelo's pupil; yet it is in this latter's work that one may follow the undisguised *modus operandi*, stone upon stone, from the foundation to the crown of the great dome. For this, contrary to the general practice, is of a single instead of a double shell, as though the uncompromising Spaniard had been averse to even this legitimate deception. True, he reflects none of the brilliancy and imagination of the Italians, but he surpasses them in his Roman appreciation of thorough construction. In a land where the Renaissance had been received only for its ornamental value, this change of attitude would never have found expression had it not coincided with Philip's own. The pity of it is that, having at last grasped the fundamental principles, architecture as a fine art should have been tabooed as pagan heresy.

As to the remainder of the Escorial—palace, seminary, and monastery—these are subservient to the central mass of the church. They are treated in monotonous rectangularity and though destined for more intimate uses are just as formidable and frigid. Still in spots a little sentiment managed to creep in, especially in the monastery patio (Plate LXXIX) with its gardens and *tempietto* and splendid view of the dome.



WEST FRONT OF THE CATHEDRAL OF VALLADOLID.
Juan de Herrera, Architect, 1585.

It may be too exacting to ask that a scheme of such magnitude as the Escorial should be practical in all its parts; yet there need hardly have been such ignoring of those niceties which belong to the ethical rather than the practical side of planning.



FIG. 139—A Small Palace in Plasencia by Juan de Herrera.

The route to the royal apartments, besides being circuitous, leads through a kitchen patio; likewise opposite three of the imposing entrances to the building are stationed extensive kitchen quarters. The error has nothing to do with Juan Bautista's composition, but in the designating of such prominent sites for the service end of the huge institution.

The remaining productions of Philip's two architects consist mainly in the remodeling of various royal buildings and the carrying on of others whose construction had long been in progress. Juan Bautista began a royal convent in Madrid, the Descalzas Reales, which passed on to Herrera and which, so far as the profane may see, presents little of interest. What Juan Bautista did on the royal residence at Aranjuez was swept away by fire a century later; neither is anything left of the Madrid Alcázar. Herrera's career was much more complete. The greater scope of his commissions, including the colossal cathedral of Valladolid (Plate LXXX), a small palace in Plasencia, and the Segovia bridge at Madrid, offers a fairer opportunity to appraise his talents. To be sure he worked always more or less under Philip's dictation but nothing would indicate that this was a hardship for him—that he had any impetuosities that needed restraining or any imagination that might have produced a monument of high artistic merit if he had been freer. Architect and client appear to have been equally cold natures, pedants both, and denied the creative spark. It was always the same heavy attempt at restoring Græco-Roman. Any revival implies a paucity of imagination; but at least the principles revived should be thoroughly understood. Above all, an architect working in a classic revival should have done justice to the orders and Herrera did not fill this requirement. More engineer than architect, he was able to secure robustness but unable to refine it. Another great engineer-architect, the Italian Sammiceli, also strove for bigness, but his city gates at Verona show that he appreciated architecture as a fine art. A comparison of these with the lower stage of the Valladolid Cathedral by Herrera speaks for itself. To be sure the interior of the cathedral is more commendable than the façade; the huge piers and pilasters in rough stone are very effective and the side chapels are a good adaptation of the Roman *thermæ* motif. Herrera's wooden model is still preserved and shows that had this church been completed it might have commanded respect by sheer size alone; but as it stands, less than half finished (only one of the four towers was ever erected, and

that but a few years ago), it does not add to his fame, even when due allowance is made for Churriguera's seventeenth-century additions. The most sympathetic building associated with Herrera's name is a small house in the Estrameñan



FIG. 140—Patio of the Lonja, Seville.

Built by Juan de Mijares from designs by Juan de Herrera, 1583-98.

town of Plasencia (Fig. 139), where presumably he was not under royal influence. In his favorite material, granite, precluding delicate detail, it is interesting chiefly for its Doric doorway and superposed Ionic window handled with more feeling than usual, though it must be admitted that the iron balcony does much to tie the two features together. The two crude windows at the top and the pinnaced parapet are more typically Herreran. In the Puente de Segovia in Madrid, Herreresque bigness is more to the point; in fact, so

formidable are his piers that the feeble Manzanares stream seems to shrink still further at sight of them. But it is a noble bridge, conserving the best traditions in this land where bridge-builders have been famous since antiquity. So is the granite Puente de Palmas at Badajoz, which was built after his plans.

There are various other structures which Herrera as state architect is known to have drawn plans for, but it is doubtful if his connection went any further. Chief among these is the Lonja of Seville built in 1583-98 by his pupil Juan Mijares (already mentioned as working on the royal palace at Granada). The exterior is of brick and granite, a combination which was becoming very popular at the time and which may be seen in the University Church and in many seventeenth-century structures. The granite frame of the windows is of the same post and lintel construction as the Escorial, and in the cornice occurs the same corbel motif; the inevitable pinnacles accentuate the corners. In contrast to the poor detail of the exterior the patio is academically correct (Fig. 140). Some of the salons have interesting vaulted ceilings. The banal marble staircase was built by Charles III in the late eighteenth century, when it was decided to use the upper story as the Archivo de las Indias.

Herrera and Philip II lived to the end of the century, 1597 and 1598 respectively, by which time they had thoroughly implanted their official type. The whole kingdom conformed to it and the perfunctory buildings which resulted are not appealing.

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